

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS

of

HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS

in

AN AMERICAN URBAN COMMUNITY

by

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THE HUNGARIANS OF MICHIGAN

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THE significance of the role played by the Hungarians of Michigan can be estimated best in the light of the Hungarian immigration to the United States. Researches made by Kende¹ and Pivány² show that those Hungarians who came to America before the close of the Colonial period were adventurers and members of the highest social strata in Hungary. One of these first Hungarian immigrants was Baron Frank Orbán who, after training for the priesthood, abandoned his clerical robes to seek a wife and anonymity in the wilderness back of Philadelphia in 1767. Another was Count Maurice Benyovszky, the hero of one of Jókai's romances, who sought solitude in Texas, where some of his descendants were still found as late as 1843.

Hungarian immigration after the close of the Revolutionary War was of quite a different character. It consisted no longer of adventurers, but of professional men and merchants. Among these were Benjamin Spitzer, who opened a department store in New Orleans in 1798; John Püneki, who opened a restaurant in New Orleans in 1820; Dr. Charles Luzenberg, who began to practice medicine in New Orleans in 1829 and who later founded the New Orleans Medical Society; Marton Fogel, who owned a furniture factory in Charleston at the time of the fire of 1837; Matthew Nyujtó, who opened a saloon in New York for the Irish settlers about 1820; and Edward Rehatsek and Augustus Bayse, who achieved considerable success as engineers in Cincinnati about 1840. All of these men had some business or profession prior to migration. They came to America because they believed that the rapidly expanding popula-

¹Kende Géza: *Magyarok Amerikában*. Cleveland, 1927.

²Eugene Pivány: *Hungarian American Historical Connections*. Budapest, 1927.

tion of the United States would give them greater opportunity for financial success than would their homeland.³

The third period of Hungarian immigration to the United State, known as the Emigráció, followed the unsuccessful conclusion of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. Since the victorious Austrians refused to grant amnesty to the nobles and squires who had been leaders in the rebellion, these "noble rebels" were forced to flee from Hungary and seek a new home elsewhere. Many of them came to America. They arrived in New York with empty pockets and with no knowledge of English. They went to hunt work, but, when asked what their trade was, admitted they had none. "We understand fighting and horseback riding," these émigré cavalry officers said. Employers laughed, shook their heads and gave them no work. Had there been at that time American colonies of Hungarian laborers, the noble exiles might have found in these a niche for exploitation. Like intelligentsia of more recent years, they might have edited newspapers and sold insurance policies to the laborers of their own nationality. In the absence of such colonies, other adjustments had to be made. Some of the exiles settled on farm colonies, as that in Decatur County, Iowa. A few of them became gold prospectors in California. The majority of them, however, sought an occupational adjustment within the American urban economy. They had brought with them to America just such accomplishments as could be of no use in making this adjustment. Hence many were forced to become unskilled laborers, working from twelve to fourteen hours at a dollar a day. The former Lord Mayor of Székesfehérvár became a factory workman. Captains in the cavalry became operatives in cigar factories.

As soon as the American Civil War began, the situation of the Hungarian émigrés changed. The war gave them the opportunity that they craved. Although there were in the United States only about 4,000 Hungarians in 1860, about twenty per cent of these enlisted in the Army of the Union, a ratio not ap-

³Professor Fest: "Adalékok az Emigráció előtti amerikai és magyar érintkezések történetéhez," *Uránia*, Budapest, Jan., 1921.

proached by any of the other nationalities who had immigrated into the country. About one hundred Hungarians served as officers. Of this number, two were major generals and five were brigadier generals.⁴ After the Civil War a number of these men secured satisfactory employment in the service of the United States Government. General Asboth became United States Minister to the Argentine Republic and to Uruguay; General Schoepf became Chief Examiner of the United States Patent Office; Captain Semsey became Chairman of the Board of Special Inquiry of the United States Immigration Service at Ellis Island.

Colorful as was the earlier Hungarian immigration, it contributed very little to the population of the United States and virtually nothing to that of the State of Michigan. The Ninth Census of the United States, that of 1870, was the first which enumerated Hungarians as distinct from Austrians. It gave a total of 3,737 persons born in Hungary who resided in the states and territories of the United States at that time. The growth of the Hungarian element in the population of the United States is by no means so easy to determine as might appear from a cursory examination of the census data in the following table:

TABLE 1

Persons Born in Hungary Resident in the United States, 1870-1930		
Year of Census	Number of Persons Born in Hungary	Percentage of all foreign born
1870	3,737	0.1
1880	11,526	0.2
1890	62,435	0.7
1900	145,714	1.4
1910	495,609	3.7
1920	598,170 ⁵	.
1920 (adjusted)	397,282	2.9
1930	274,450	2.1

⁴Eugene Pivány: *Hungarians in the American Civil War*, Cleveland, 1913. Data were compiled from Heitman's *Register*, the Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army and Dyer's *Compendium*.

⁵The unadjusted figures for 1920 and those for preceding censuses give the immigration from pre-war Hungary which had an area of 325,411 sq. kilometers and a population of 20,886,487 in 1910. The Hungarian census of 1930 shows that post-war Hungary has an area of 93,036 sq. kilometers and a population of 8,683,740.

It was early realized that the foreign born alone were but a portion of the contribution of their nationality to the population of the country. Accordingly the last five censuses have enumerated the members of the second immigrant generation: "The native-born of foreign or mixed parentage."

TABLE 2

Native Born Residents of the United States, one or both of whose parents were born in Hungary, 1890-1930

Census Year	Number of native born of Hungarian parentage
1890	14,686
1900	72,738
1910	204,627
1920	512,735
1930	316,318

The figures of this table are no more comparable than are those of the preceding table, since those of 1930 alone are based on origin within the present political boundaries of Hungary.

The last three censuses have attained greater accuracy through the enumeration of "Foreign Born Persons of Magyar Mother Tongue."

TABLE 3

Foreign Born Residents of the United States of Magyar Mother Tongue, 1910-1930

Census Year	Foreign born of Magyar Mother Tongue	Percentage of all foreign born
1910	229,094	1.7
1920	290,419	2.2
1930	250,393	1.9

Though the censuses of 1910 and 1920 enumerated also the native born of foreign or mixed parentage who were of Magyar mother tongue, this classification was omitted in the 1930 census, and thus cannot be used in determining the number of Hungarians at present resident in the country.

An additional difficulty lies in the fact that the classification "Hungarian" or "Magyar" involves the attitudes of the

persons interviewed by the enumerators. It is extremely difficult to find so-called Magyars to-day who even attempt to claim descent from the invading Magyars of 896 A. D. who founded the Hungarian State. For several centuries immigrants were invited to settle in Hungary. The Magyar nationality was maintained through the assimilation of persons of other mother tongues many of whom became in consequence bi-lingual, speaking with equal facility the Hungarian language and the language of their fore-fathers, whether that was Rumanian, Slovak, German, Croatian or Armenian. After the emigration of such persons from the political limits of the Hungarian State, it frequently became a matter of individual choice whether they would consider Magyar or one of the other languages to be their mother tongue.

In view of these considerations it becomes clear that the exact number of Hungarians resident in the United States at any particular time cannot be determined. The census classification "Born in Hungary", however, serves fairly well as an index of the distribution of Hungarians among the several states.

TABLE 4

Persons Born in Hungary Resident in the State of Michigan, 1870-1930

Census Year	Number of persons born in Hungary Resident in the State of Michigan	Percentage of all foreign born in the State of Michigan	Percentage of all persons born in Hungary resident in United States
1870	144	0.05	3.85
1880	193	0.05	1.67
1890	637	0.11	1.02
1900	835	0.15	0.57
1910	11,597	1.94	2.34
1920	22,607	3.11	3.78
1930	19,188	2.28	6.99

This classification shows that in the State of Michigan the Hungarians increased both in actual numbers and in their percentage of the total foreign born from 1870 until 1920: during the decade 1920-30, the Hungarians of Michigan de-

creased in both categories. The percentage of the Hungarians of the United States resident in the State of Michigan decreased from 1870 until 1900, after which time it increased steadily, so that in 1930 the Hungarians of Michigan constituted almost twice as large a percentage of their nationality in the United States as they did sixty years earlier.

The distribution of Hungarians among the counties of Michigan shows that there have been a number of principal foci of settlement. The proportion of the Hungarians of Michigan resident in each of these areas has changed constantly as a result of the great mobility of the group. In their search for economic opportunity in city factory, farm or mine, these people shift from region to region within the State as well as from state to state. Home ownership—either of city lots or of farms—has so far played only a minor role in limiting the mobility of Hungarian immigrants. The few family possessions are “dumped into the back seat of the old Ford car or are fastened unto its top” and the family is ready for a new migration. The migration, however, leads usually to some area which serves as a sort of magnet for the people of this nationality. In the State of Michigan, the following regions appear to have had this drawing power:

1. The southwestern part of the Upper Peninsula. A group of eight counties—Gogebic, Menominee, Marquette, Houghton, Dickinson,⁶ Iron, Delta and Schoolcraft—had in 1890 a total of 162 Hungarians, or 25.4 per cent of all the Hungarians in the State of Michigan. The proportion rose to 44.4 per cent in 1900, and then dropped to 13.8 per cent in 1910, 2.4 per cent in 1920 and 1.1 per cent in 1930, in which year these eight counties had only 63 more Hungarians than they had in 1890.

2. The northernmost tiers of counties of the Lower Peninsula. While Montmorency and Oscoda counties are reported only once as having a single Hungarian resident, the remaining nine counties of this area—Otsego, Cheboygan, Emmet, Charlevoix, Antrim, Alpena, Alcona, Presque Isle and Craw-

⁶Dickinson County, though organized in 1891, was composed of townships already included in the area specified.

ford—had in 1890 a total of 168 Hungarians, or 26.2 per cent of the total in the State. The changed economy which followed the close of the lumbering era had few occupational opportunities to offer the migrant Hungarians. From the year 1890 their number in this region dwindled constantly until in 1930 these nine counties had only 59 Hungarians, or 0.3 per cent of the total for the State. Otsego County is of especial significance in this connection. In 1890 the Hungarians resident in Otsego—frequently known as the Gaylord region—numbered 121, thus comprising 2.8 per cent of the total population of the county at that time. In 1930 Otsego had only 3 Hungarians.

3. The Grand Rapids-Muskegon Area, comprising the three counties of Kent, Muskegon and Ottawa. This area had 42 Hungarians in 1890. The number rose to 687 in 1920, and then declined to 394 in 1930. The majority of the Hungarians of this area live in Muskegon County.

4. The Saginaw-Bay City Area, comprising in addition to Saginaw and Bay counties the three "hinterland" counties of Arenac, Midland and Gladwin. In 1890 Saginaw and Bay counties had 60 Hungarians and the three other counties of this area none at all. The number rose until in 1920 these five counties had 846 Hungarians, or 3.7 per cent of all the Hungarians in the State. The number declined, however, to 450 in 1930.

5. The "Thumb", comprising the three counties of Huron, Sanilac and Tuscola. This area had a Hungarian population of 18 in 1890 and only 4 in 1900. The rise of the sugar-beet industry in this area and the use of Hungarians as beet weeders along with real estate activity in selling sandy farms to Hungarians in the cities led to such a rapid increase in the number of this group in the Thumb, that in 1920 they numbered 1,067, or 4.7 per cent of all Hungarians in the State. In this area also the number declined after 1920, so that only 636 Hungarians were reported in 1930.

6. The Detroit Metropolitan Area, which may be considered in this study to include Wayne, Macomb and Oakland

counties. This area shows very clearly the changing pattern of distribution of the Hungarians. In 1890 there were in these three counties 116 Hungarians, or 18.2 per cent of the total number. In 1900 the number had risen to 207, or 24.8 per cent of the total. In 1910, however, the 1,101 Hungarians reported in these three counties formed only 9.6 per cent of the total. The number leaped to 15,983 in 1920, thus constituting 70.7 per cent of the total. In 1930 the 14,003 Hungarians reported in these three counties constituted 72.9 per cent of the total number in the State.

Other counties containing cities have shown a similar trend. Berrien County increased from 5 Hungarians in 1890 to 170 in 1930.⁷ Kalamazoo County increased from 2 Hungarians in 1890 to 336 in 1920 and then decreased to 181 in 1930. St. Clair County increased from 2 Hungarians in 1890 to 227 in 1920, and then decreased to 186 in 1930. In fact, the principal trend in the distribution of the Hungarians in Michigan has been the shift to the cities along with the general decrease since 1920. The extent to which these people have become city-dwellers in Michigan is shown by the following table:

TABLE 5

Urban and Rural Distribution of Hungarian Stock Resident in Michigan, 1930

	Total "Foreign White Stock" of Hungarian Origin		Born in Hungary		Native Born of foreign or mixed parentage	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Urban	32,025	79.2	15,516	80.8	16,509	77.7
Rural-Farm	5,897	14.5	2,536	13.2	3,361	15.8
Rural Non-Farm	2,512	6.2	1,136	5.9	1,376	6.4
Total	40,434	99.9	19,188	99.9	21,246	99.9

The slightly greater proportion of the second generation enumerated as rural is due probably to the larger number of

⁷The outstanding example of a constant increase has been Genesee County, with Flint. Genesee had no Hungarians in 1890, 1 in 1900, 403 in 1910, 1,191 in 1920 and 1,401 in 1930. The large increase from 1920 to 1930 was due to increasing industrial opportunity.

children among the families settled on the farms, and also to the presence of many single men in the cities. The Hungarian immigrant without a wife—in this country—finds farming inconvenient and a factory job preferable.

Since the principal Hungarian settlement in Michigan is that of Detroit, the Detroit Hungarian Colony becomes very significant as the most compact group of the Hungarian people in the State. This colony is known as Delray, since it occupies largely the area of the old municipality of Delray, about five miles west of the Detroit City Hall, north of the Detroit River and Zug Island. Delray was peopled almost entirely by French and German settlers until 1898, when the Michigan Malleable Iron Company started production. The news spread rapidly among Hungarian immigrants in Cleveland, Toledo and elsewhere that there were great opportunities for work in Delray and that higher wages were being paid in the Detroit area than in Ohio. The managers of the Michigan Malleable Iron Company soon discovered that Hungarian laborers were valuable as iron molders and core makers, hence they endeavored to bring Hungarians from other cities to work for them.

Difficulty was experienced in finding homes for the Hungarians who were being drawn to Delray by the pull of industry. Much antipathy was shown against the "invading" newcomers by the French and German elements who made up the bulk of the population of the suburb. These people preferred homes somewhat back from the waterfront on what were considered the more desirable streets. Between West Jefferson Avenue—the old River Road—and the Detroit River there lay two streets—Medina and Barnes—which formed a socially disorganized area just beyond the boundaries of the City of Detroit. The owners of the houses on these two streets expected that the waterfront would be developed and that the district would be used for industrial purposes. The shacks which had been erected on these streets were left largely without repairs. Because of the disorganized character of this area, little opposition was made to the settlement of Hungarians.

A number of other factories, such as the Solvay Process Company, the American Brass Company and the Michigan Pulp and Sulphite Company, were opened in the Delray area during the first decade of this century. The occupational opportunities afforded by these factories stimulated the influx of Hungarians. The Medina-Barnes section was soon overcrowded with the newcomers. The hostility of the French and German residents led the Hungarians to "jump across" the residential section of Delray and settle on newly opened streets to the north. In time the active resistance of the old inhabitants gave way and the entire Delray area was rapidly abandoned by them.⁸

The rapid increase in the Hungarian population of Wayne County between 1910 and 1920 was due in a large degree to the five dollar a day wage scale of the Ford Motor Company. Even while the factory remained in Highland Park many of the Hungarians who were drawn to Detroit to work at Ford's preferred to live "among their own kind" in Delray, which had been annexed to Detroit in 1904. After the removal of the factory to its present location on the Rouge River, it became much more convenient for Hungarian laborers to reside in Delray than elsewhere. The rapidly increasing Hungarian population found insufficient room in the few streets which made up the colony. At the same time peoples whom the Hungarians considered inferior to themselves—Armenians, Poles, Italians, Negroes and Gypsies—were "invading" Delray in their efforts to find cheap rents near to the factories. After 1915 Delray was no longer a purely Hungarian neighborhood. The result of these changes was that many Hungarian families moved out of Delray into newer settlements on the fringe of the old colony. In the case of those of higher economic status, the children frequently persuaded their parents to move "to the better neighborhood North of Fort Street". They claimed that they were ashamed to bring their friends to visit them, lest they should see that they lived "next door to families of

⁸Vide, E. W. Burgess: "Residential Succession in American Cities," *Annals of the American Academy*, Nov. 1928.

the mixed peoples". Families of the lowest economic strata were crowded out of Delray because they could not afford to pay even the comparatively low rents asked in the colony. This poorest element of the Hungarian population tended to settle on the borders of River Rouge and Ecorse where rents were cheaper than in Delray.

Despite this extension of the Hungarians beyond the colony, Delray has still remained the center of most Hungarian activities whether participated in by families still resident in the colony or by families which have moved into the newer settlements.

The early Hungarian settlement in Delray had an undifferentiated economic and social structure. The newcomers lived very much to themselves and had practically no relations with their French and German neighbors. Like pioneers in a new country, they were without churches, societies and stores. Finally a Hungarian saloon was opened on West Jefferson near West End Avenue in 1901. The widow of its proprietor thus described the situation at that time:

When my husband and I opened our saloon, there was no center for the Hungarians of Delray. Our saloon was everything, all in one, for the people who came to us. We did all kinds of business beside selling liquor. We made the place home-like and lots of single men ate in our saloon. We had a kind of a bank too as well as a restaurant. The people brought us their money to deposit for them. We remitted money to Europe for the people. We are sold steamship tickets and real estate. If the people wanted to have a meeting, they held it in the hall above our saloon. We conducted a sort of general merchandise store also. Men could buy their overalls and women their groceries at our bar.

With the increasing Hungarian population, a well marked division of labor developed. Specialization in business proceeded in the colony as elsewhere. Hungarian grocery and meat markets, clothing stores, insurance agencies, real estate offices and printing presses began to function in the economy of the colony. Hungarians who had moved to the periphery still return to the business section in the center of the colony

to do most of their buying. The undifferentiated society of the early settlement changed in a similar manner. Churches were built and societies organized to meet the needs of Hungarians of all faiths and of all political or social viewpoints. In Hungary the churches are supported by direct taxation. One must pay the "church tax" to the denomination of his choice just like any other tax. Deprived of this support, Hungarian churches in America have struggled to gain support in other ways. Voluntary contributions on the part of the membership failed to maintain the budget. It became necessary therefore to support the churches through the profit derived from various forms of entertainment. As soon as this method was shown to bring satisfactory returns, virtually all the Hungarian churches and all the Hungarian societies began to adopt it as a principal means of meeting their current expenses. All the Hungarian churches and almost all the Hungarian societies have maintained their *locus* within the center of the colony. Despite the extension of Hungarian settlement over rather wide areas beyond the colony, the majority of those who have moved away still return to attend the meetings of their churches and societies and especially the entertainments provided by these.

It is in the light of this situation that the passing of the cultural traits of the Hungarians must be considered. Unlike the early Hungarian settlers in the United States, those who settled in Detroit have been very largely peasants. Out of a sample of 1,850 Hungarians resident in Detroit, it was found that 80.4 per cent were born in *communes* having less than 5,000 inhabitants. In fact, out of the whole sample only 28 persons had been born in Budapest. The great majority of these people came not only from the smaller *communes*, but also from the more remote and more purely agricultural regions of Hungary. These were the people whose life organization had been built up on the pattern of peasant culture. Migration meant for them not only removal from Hungary but a sudden change from an extremely rural peasant society to the life of

an industrial metropolis. The consequent change in culture may be considered from the standpoint of the isolated individual or from the standpoint of the group which is integrated around the social, religious and economic activities of the Hungarian colony. The former has less significance than the latter. Individuals who have moved away both spatially and socially from their group tend to become "lost" and disorganized through the sudden change into an entirely alien culture. On the other hand, the changes in cultural traits taking place among those Hungarians whose lives are still integrated with the colony tend to follow a certain orderly pattern.

Customs connected with the cycle of the agricultural year were discontinued as a result of the removal to the city, unless the perpetuation of these customs was economically advantageous to the churches and to the societies. In fact, the principal factor in the retention of many peasant customs is this effort to make profit out of them. The custom remains, but the motive involved in its celebration has changed; the simple spontaneity of a village celebration has become a commercial undertaking which may yield a profit of hundreds, and sometimes thousands of dollars. The *szurceti mulatsag*, or Vintage Festival, was essentially a non-commercial celebration at the close of the grape-gathering. In the Detroit Hungarian Colony it has become a principal means of paying off the church debts. In Hungarian villages the boys parade as *Bethlehemesek*, singing carols at Christmas time. Hungarian churches in Detroit have taken over this old custom to make it the means of securing large contributions for their budgets. The simple *Kirandulas*, or Picnic to the woods, has become one of the largest commercial enterprises in the colony. The dissatisfaction of the second generation with Hungarian music and dances and their desire to "be like Americans" has resulted in a hybridization of customs. For commercial reasons the shell of many of the old customs has been retained, although the celebration itself is losing steadily its Hungarian peasant characteristics.

A few of the old customs have not been commercialized and still retain something of their spontaneity. Such is the *Locsolodas* of Easter Monday when groups of boys sprinkle water or perfume on the girls of their acquaintance. Such also is the *Disznotor*, or ceremonial feast after pig-killing, still observed in many a Hungarian home in Michigan.

The old customs, however, tend to lapse more rapidly among those who live at such a distance from the colony that they no longer feel the pressure of the compact group of their own people. Even though Hungarians living away from Detroit may show more spontaneity in their celebrations, they are found usually in such small groups that the maintenance of the customs becomes difficult.

The financial stringency resulting from the depression has led to the partial abandonment of many customs. Thus, parents frequently connive at their daughter's elopement in order to save the expenses of an old-fashioned Hungarian wedding. The Pig Killing has ceased as a festival among many families who are receiving welfare aid. Customs which remain are abbreviated in order to avoid expense.

The pattern of distribution of the Hungarians in Michigan has made the Delray colony of Detroit their most important center of culture. With no recent reinforcements of peasant immigrants, the colony as a whole tends to lose the cultural traits peculiar to peasant society. The loss of these traits is gradual. There is first a period of hybridization and commercialization in which the churches and societies seek to make use of these customs as a profit-making device. The trend, however, especially since the depression, has been toward the discontinuance of all things that are peculiarly distinctive of the Hungarian cultural heritage.

MIGRATIONS OF HUNGARIAN PEASANTS

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MODERN migration may be classified as plantation, pioneer, and urban, according to the economy into which additional population elements are being introduced. The movement of Hungarian peasants from their native habitat is significant in that inside the cultural as well as the political limits of the migrants' homeland all three general types of migration are taking place. Emigration of Hungarian peasants to other countries, however, has been largely, though by no means entirely, of the urban type. The sudden change from the environment of peasant communities to that of highly industrialized cities has brought the emigrants into close contact with other cultural groups and has created for them new problems of economic and social adjustment.

THE PEASANT IN HIS NATIVE HABITAT

The tendency to migrate has not characterized all strata of Hungarian society equally. During recent decades mobility has been most marked among the peasantry, which itself is made up of the following social and economic classes:

1. Servants on the landed estates (*uradalmi cselédek*). Members of this class occupy a relatively secure and permanent position. Their children normally remain on the same estate on which the parents' lives have been spent. This class contributes few to the number of migrants unless the system of latifundia itself is seriously disturbed, as after the agrarian legislation of 1920 and 1924. When the landed estates were reduced in size, many of the *uradalmi cselédek* were discharged by the landlords and thus were compelled to migrate.

2. Landless men or cottagers (*zsellérek*).¹ These are usually the descendants of those serfs who failed to share in the "parceling of land" that followed the emancipation of the serfs in 1848. The *zsellér* of today owns no land except the site on which his house is built. He must secure his livelihood by working on the land of others. He labors as a servant, either on the estate of some landlord or on the holdings of the wealthier peasants.

3. "Dwarf landowners" (*törpe birtokosok*). Members of this class have holdings so small that a livelihood cannot be secured without supplementary income.

4. Small farmers (*kisgazdák*), who own enough land to provide a livelihood for themselves and their families. This class forms the

¹ A. J. Patterson: *The Magyars: Their Country and Institutions*, 2 vols., London, 1869, Vol. I, p. 323.

apex of Hungarian peasant society. Although constituting numerically only a small part of Hungary's agricultural population, it has played so important a role in the social and political life of the country that attention is usually confined to it alone in any discussion of the Hungarian peasantry.²

The economic independence of the small-farmer class is attained usually by those who own from ten to fifty cadastral acres or more. However, as the distinction between the dwarf landowner and the small farmer is popular rather than official and statistical, wide variations occur in different parts of Hungary. Factors such as the standard of living in a particular region and the fertility of the soil on a particular holding determine whether marginal cases should be included among the economically dependent dwarf landowners or among the independent small farmers. For example, in Tófalú, Heves County, a person owning even six acres of good arable land would be considered a *kisgazda*, since the peasants of this commune are satisfied with a very meager livelihood. The peasants of Decs, Tolna County, on the other hand, do not consider anyone a *kisgazda* who owns less than a hundred acres of good arable land. The cultural heritage of the people of Decs demands a standard in housing, furniture, clothing, and farm equipment that the people of Tófalú would never dream of possessing.

As a result of the economic independence and high social status of the independent small farmers, very few members of this class are found among the migrant population, with the exception of the more prosperous *tanya* settlers. Through the increasing practice of birth control by members of this class, their numbers tend to remain fairly stationary.

5. The "peasant specialists in trade and industry." As a supplementary class to the peasant society of the smaller communes there are certain specialists—blacksmiths, carpenters, bootmakers, and others—who are sons of peasants, intermarry with peasants, and, like other peasants, own and work small landholdings. In the larger cities the specialist in trade and industry is much farther removed from the peasant and under no circumstances could be included in the class with him.

Although the present status of these specialists in the small communes is actually higher than that of the small farmers, their origin is usually lower. Many of them are the sons of *zsellérek* and were apprenticed to the village blacksmiths or carpenters as an adjustment to the landless condition of their families. By means of occupational mobility these persons have sought a niche for themselves in the communes in which they were born. Other sons and daughters of the landless and the dwarf landowners have sought an adjustment

² Weis István: *A Magyar Falu*, Budapest, 1931, pp. 29-30.

through spatial rather than occupational mobility and have migrated, either to other parts of Hungary or to other countries. The mobility involved in the change of occupation by these village specialists has "broken the cake of custom" to such an extent that members of this class are among the most eager to migrate in order to seek better economic opportunities elsewhere.

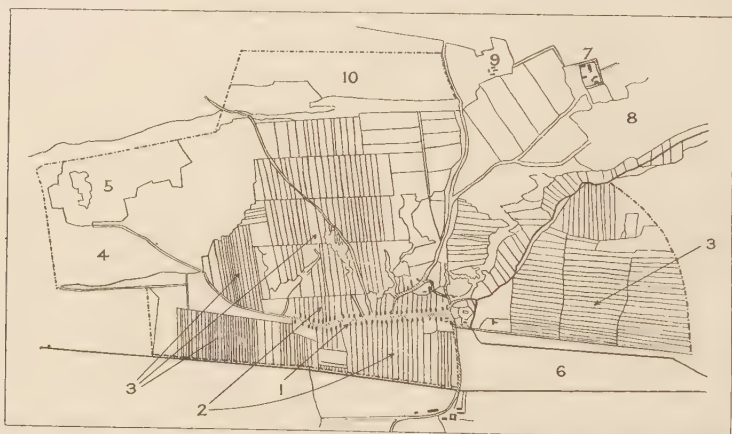


FIG. 1.—Plan of commune of Bak, Zala County (reproduced from Gönczi Ferencz: *Göcsej*, Kaposvár, 1914, p. 398). Reference: 1, row of houses on both sides of the single street; 2, *beltelek* or inner settlement (each house has a strip of land attached with the exception of a few houses of the *zsellérek*); 3, arable land of the *kültelek*; 4, communal pasture; 5, communal forest; 6, communal meadow; 7, *puszta*, or residence quarters of *uradalmi cseléd* of neighboring estate; 8, forest belonging to neighboring estate; 9, brick kiln belonging to neighboring estate; 10, communal fallow land. The area is 1353 cadastral acres.

The native habitat of Hungary's peasantry³ is the village (*falu*), which denotes the administrative units of the small (*kisközségek*) and large (*nagyközségek*) communes. Despite great differences in the size and form of the communes, all have one characteristic in common: each consists of a nucleus surrounded by a periphery. The nucleus, or "inner settlement" (*beltelek*), is made up of the houses of the inhabitants and small adjacent gardens; the periphery, or "outer settlement" (*kültelek*), includes the rest of the communal territory—arable land, meadows, pastures, vineyards, and forests (Fig. 1).

The wealth or poverty of a Hungarian village is determined to a very large extent by the amount of its *határ*,⁴ that part of the peripheral area that is owned by the peasants themselves. In this sense the term *határ* does not include the landed estates, which form enclaves within

³ An exception is found in the *uradalmi cseléd*, who live in settlements on the estates on which they are employed. These *uradalmi majorok* or *puszták* are without the administrative rights of the commune.

⁴ The term *határ* denoted originally a limit or boundary. Then it came to mean the entire territory inside the boundaries of a commune. The peasantry, however, in all parts of Hungary use this term for the communal territory outside the *beltelek* exclusive of the manorial estates. Although this peasant use of the term has not been accepted by Hungarian lexicographers, it expresses the peasant's feeling that the estates do not belong to the communes.

the commune and interfere with the communal pattern of settlement. Communes in which the *határ* is large in proportion to the number of inhabitants tend to have a relatively high percentage of independent farmers among their householders. In such communes the supply of agricultural day laborers will not be so great as the demand for their labor. Consequently comparatively little migration takes place. The opposite is the case with communes in which the *határ* is small in proportion to the number of inhabitants. In these communes the supply of day laborers exceeds the demand for their labor on the part of the small farmers. Hence these laborers are compelled to seek employment on the landed estates or to migrate elsewhere.

SEASONAL MOVEMENT TO THE LANDED ESTATES

Superimposed on the pattern of peasant communes in Hungary is a unique aggregation of landed estates, uninhabited plains under the administration of "peasant cities," and industrialized urban areas. Each of these represents a different type of economy to which migrating peasants must adjust themselves. The seasonal migration of agricultural laborers to the landed estates is an example of the "plantation" type of settlement.⁵ Although the landed estates give permanent employment to several peasant families who live on them, additional laborers are needed at special times, such as during harvest. In many places they can be furnished by the adjoining communes. Such villagers go each day to their work on the estate and return home to the village at night. In some places, however, the local supply is insufficient. Either the estate is large, or the number of landless men in the neighboring communes is small, or the people of these communes demand higher wages than the estate is willing to pay. In such cases laborers (*summások*) are imported from communes in which the population tends to specialize in "plantation labor." Many of these laborers come from the Matyó communes of Mezőkövesd, Tard, and Szentistván, in Borsod County.⁶ A contract is made between the estate and an agent representing the migrants. Temporary barracks are erected on the estate to house the migrants during the weeks or months of their employment, and during this period they tend to remain in virtual isolation owing to the well marked social distance that separates them from other laborers on the same estate. As in other plantation economies, the landed estates of Hungary are integrated with world markets, and consequently their demand for labor fluctuates with the conditions of these markets. When adverse economic conditions limit the employ-

⁵ Although this meaning of "plantation" is usually restricted to large estates in tropical and sub-tropical climates, it may conveniently be used here for estates specializing in a single crop, a characteristic of the plantation proper.

⁶ Cf. E. D. Beynon: Isolated Racial Groups of Hungary, *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 17, 1927, pp. 586-604.

ment of migrant laborers on the estates, the surplus population of these communes must make an adjustment through migration either to cities in Hungary or to other countries.

PIONEER SETTLEMENT: THE TANYA MOVEMENT

In the case of Hungarian peasants, pioneer settlement, as it may be termed, takes place usually inside the administrative limits of the

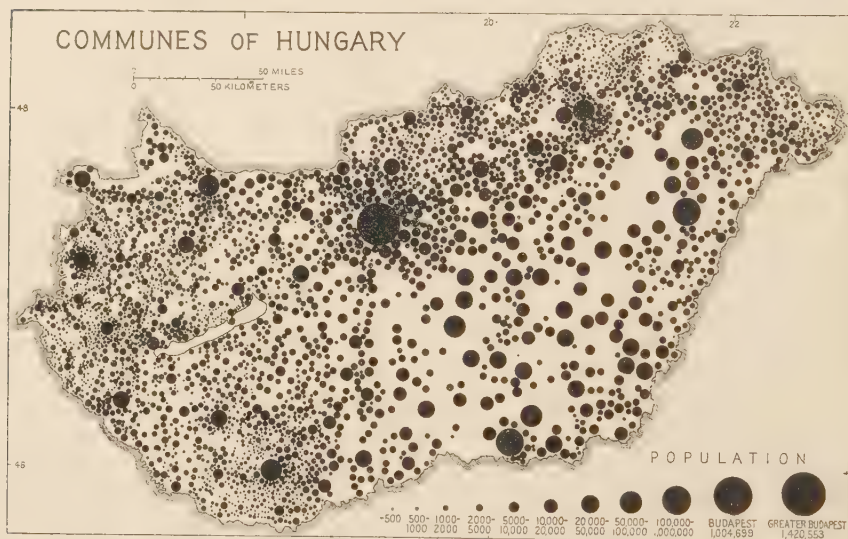


FIG. 2.—Cartogram showing the distribution of the communes of Hungary according to size. Reproduced from a map by Dr. G. Thirring (see footnote 8).

peasant's native commune. By this short-distance migration he changes his residence from the area of inner settlement to the peripheral area. Such migration has been of two principal types: the *tanya* movement and the settlement resulting from the agrarian reform. In the former the peasant moves to the *határ*, the communal land owned by the peasants themselves. In the latter the peasant settles on a holding taken from the large estates that impinged on the communal land. In both this migration is almost entirely a "back to the land" movement of agriculturists who have exchanged the more "organic" social structure of the commune for the more "segmentary"⁷ economy of isolated farm homes.

The map of the communes of Hungary⁸ shows that the Alföld has a pattern of settlement very different from that in the northern and western parts of the country. In the north and west communes

⁷ The terms "organic" and "segmentary" are used in the sense adopted by Émile Durkheim in "De la division du travail social," Paris, 1902. The pioneer farmer settled in the peripheral area is not only farmer but also builder, miller, smith, and shoemaker.

⁸ See the map of the communes of Hungary prepared by Dr. G. Thirring for *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle*, Vol. 10, 1932, Fig. 2, facing p. 14.

are placed close to one another; in most places a constellation of small communes is grouped around a large commune, or city. On the Alföld, however, there are wide, open spaces devoid of communes. At long intervals there are very populous communes; but, unlike the nucleuses of settlement in the north and west, these "peasant cities" are not surrounded by constellations of smaller communes, though the ruins found on the Alföld indicate that before the Turkish invasion the plain was divided fairly regularly among small cell-like communes. The inhabitants of the smaller villages fled before the roving bands of Turkish spahis and settled in the more populous communes, which already had enjoyed a dominance as market towns of communal constellations. These market towns increased greatly in size through the incoming of the fugitives; thus they were able to secure favorable terms from the Turkish pashas and protection from the depredations of wandering bands. Meanwhile the entire territory of the smaller communes, including the sites of the ruined villages, became part of the communal land of the market town. Thus the city of Debrecen has under its administration an area of 957 square kilometers, which embraces the territory of 11 to 30 abandoned communes.⁹ In consequence of this population movement the Alföld was given over almost entirely to a pastoral economy. There was virtually no crop cultivation whatever outside the immediate environs of the "peasant cities." The herds and flocks of the citizens were pastured together on the unfenced and undivided reaches of the *határ*.

The transition to an agricultural economy during the latter part of the nineteenth century necessitated the "parceling" of the communal land. In the division of the former ranch lands no uniform policy was followed: each commune or city sold or leased parcels of land at its own time and in its own way. There were two common features, however, in the policy of virtually all the Alföld communes. Only citizens of the commune itself were given the opportunity to "stake claims" in this "pioneer belt of Hungary" which was being opened up for agriculture. The parcels claimed, however, were not intended for use as "homesteads." Almost every commune issued stern ordinances against the building of permanent homes on the *határ*. Citizens were commanded to reside in the inner area, in order that they might perform their civic and religious duties.

In spite of the prohibitions of the communal authorities citizens whose holdings were distant from the core erected on the *határ* temporary structures in which they lived during the summer. These

⁹ Ecsedi István: A Hortobágy Puszta és Élete, Debrecen, 1914, pp. 84-94. Louis Zoltai: Debrecen and the Hortobágy Puszta, *Sociological Rev.*, Vol. 16, 1924, pp. 336-343, holds that there were 11 of these abandoned villages, in six of which there had been either a church or a chapel. In his publication, "Eltűnt Pusztafaluk Debrecen Határában" (*Föld és Ember*, Vol. 4, 1924, pp. 65-74; reference on p. 65). Ecsedi states that at least 25 now abandoned communes had flourished in the *határ* of Debrecen between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.

"summer homes" of agriculturists were called *tanyák*, a term that had been applied to the temporary hovels used by the herdsmen of the plains during stormy weather. At first only those citizens who were men of substance settled on the *határ*, since only such men could maintain two homes.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the word *tanya* has assumed an entirely new importance. The "two-house system" has

TABLE I—"TANYA" POPULATION OF HUNGARY, BY COUNTIES, IN 1920*

COUNTY	AREA (Sq. km.)	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Csongrád	3,410	322,383	35.79
Békés	3,670	311,109	34.62
Hajdu	3,343	271,506	29.39
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	5,259	387,225	28.83
Csanád-Arad-Torontál	1,998	167,439	26.95
Szabolcs	4,569	333,683	25.03
Bács-Bodrog	1,628	115,223	20.54
Bihar	2,754	161,061	15.05
Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun (excluding Budapest)	13,161	2,163,430	13.50
Szatmár	1,731	109,419	12.41

*Compiled by Gesztelyi Nagy László in "Magyar Tanya," Kalocsa, 1928, pp. 51-53, based on data in *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle*, Ser. I, 0000, pp. 308-311. According to this estimate the total number living on the *tanya* in 1920 was 896,918.

largely passed away, and the *tanya* has become not a mere summer home but the permanent home of an increasingly large percentage of the population.¹⁰ The wealthy citizens among whom the *határ* had been divided were followed by the communal proletariat, who made no pretense of maintaining two homes. Wherever possible, these people entered the service of the established farmers—the *tanyás gazdák*. Otherwise they attempted to "squat" on the land and lived—and still live—in the most abject poverty.

The problem of the migration to the *tanya* has been of greatly increased significance since the close of the World War, since all the *tanya* settlements remained within postwar Hungary.¹¹ In the last census before the war the population of Hungary was 20,886,487; in 1920 it was only 7,989,069, of whom about one-fifth (20.5 per cent) lived "on the *tanya*."¹² Although the population of the entire country had increased to 8,683,740 in 1930, the population living "on the

¹⁰ Weis István: *A Mai Magyar Társadalom*, Budapest, 1930, p. 14.

¹¹ Professor Magyary Zoltán, director-general of the Hungarian Institute of Public Administration, in the Preface to Kiss István: *A Magyar Tanyai Közigazgatás*, Budapest, 1932.

¹² The word *tanya* has come to mean the area in which this type of settlement is taking place.

tanya" had increased so rapidly that it constituted 21.8 per cent of the total.¹³

The *tanya* migration has been confined to the 10—formerly 12—counties that constitute the Hungarian Alföld.

As migration "to the *tanya*" has been everywhere the concern of the communes rather than of the counties, it happens that several of the communes of the Alföld have a much higher percentage of their population living "on the *tanya*" than any of the counties has. The corporate city of Kiskunhalas, in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, has an area of 112,195 acres and a population of 26,088, of whom 52.3 per cent are *tanya* residents. Kecskemét, with an area of 163,237 acres and a population of 73,109 persons, has 50.9 per cent living "on the *tanya*." Debrecen, with an area of 166,284 acres, has 48.5 per cent of her 103,186 inhabitants "on the *tanya*."

Although the *tanya* settlers remain under the administrative control of the communal authorities, their migration "to the frontier" has meant for most of them a more or less complete break with their accustomed pattern of life.

MIGRATION RESULTING FROM THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The World War was followed in Hungary by the Land Reform Laws of 1920 and 1924, which constituted a capital levy whereby owners of estates of more than 1000 cadastral acres were compelled to pay their tax in land. In this way the state obtained about a million and a quarter acres of land.¹⁴ Provision was made for the acquisition of this land by two classes of peasants:

1. Landless men (*zsellérek*) with certain qualifications, such as honorable war record, war disability, "irreproachable moral character," Hungarian citizenship, and proof of hostility to communism. Such persons were able to procure holdings of one to five cadastral acres.

2. Dwarf landowners (*törpe birtokosok*) who were enabled, by receiving six or seven additional acres, to gain the status of small farmers. This "parcellation for supplementing small farms" did not affect the pattern of settlement, since the dwarf landowners continued to occupy their homes.

The former landless men, on the contrary, usually migrated from the core of the commune to the scattered holdings in the peripheral area that they received. Almost all these holdings were of inadequate size for an independent livelihood. Indeed, it is because of this fact

¹³ Percentages compiled by Dr. Louis Thirring in *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle*, Vol. 8, 1932, pp. 1044-1062. Dr. Thirring's figures for *tanya* settlement in 1920 are virtually double those of Gesztelyi Nagy László, used in Table 1, but Thirring's work is officially endorsed by the Hungarian Statistical Office (Office Central Royal Hongrois de Statistique).

¹⁴ Nicholas de Matthyasovszky: La réforme agraire en Hongrie, *Rév. Econ. Internationale*, 22nd Year, Vol. 3, 1930, pp. 291-303.

that the Hungarian Land Reform Law has received its most severe criticism.

A great defect of the Land Reform is that highly cultivated lands have come into the possession of men without capital, who do not understand agriculture and who are too poor to buy agricultural implements. They have no animals, and they are unable to fertilize the land. The result is that many of the new "landowners" have sunk into virtual slavery. They enter into service with richer peasants, who work their land and harvest their crop. These richer peasants charge extortionate prices for doing anything for the new farmers . . . The new farmer naturally cannot

TABLE II—COMMUNES OF THE AREA OF POSTWAR HUNGARY ACCORDING TO SIZE

CLASS OF COMMUNE (Population)	NUMBER OF COMMUNES			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION		
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930
I. Up to 1000	1869	1859	1707	13.2	12.6	10.9
II. 1001-5000	1382	1390	1440	37.5	35.9	34.2
III. 5001-10,000 . . .	130	130	161	11.5	11.2	12.3
IV. Above 10,000 . . .	85	95	111	37.6	40.2	42.4

pay in money; he is forced to pay in labor. The rich peasant places a very low value on his neighbor's toil. The poor man is compelled to work nearly all year on the rich man's farm in order to pay for the plowing of his own little farm. For the harvesting, he is forced to pay a large percentage of his produce. The poor man's lot has become harder since the Land Reform.¹⁵

CITYWARD MIGRATION

In Hungary the classification of communities for administrative purposes follows a kind of hierarchy: small communes (*kisközségek*); large communes (*nagyközségek*); corporate cities (*rendezett tanácssal bíró városok*), of which there are 45 in present Hungary; autonomous cities (*törvényhatósági jogú városok*), of which 11 remain in Hungary since the World War. The distinction made between cities of either class and large communes is frequently arbitrary, however, since it is based on historical accident. The census of 1930 shows this anomaly in a striking manner. Baja, an autonomous city, had a population of 27,940. Komárom, a corporate city, had a population of 7567. Szentendre, also a corporate city, had only 7214 inhabitants. On the other hand, communities still ranked as "villages" are Pestszentlőrinc (30,557 inhabitants), Törökszentmiklós (28,396), Szarvas (25,490), and Orosháza (24,941).

To estimate the trends in the rural-urban distribution of population, it is obviously necessary to disregard the administrative classification of communes and to use instead one based on the size of

¹⁵ Translation of an unpublished manuscript by Fekete Imre, overseer of the estate of Kálmánca, Somogy County.

population. There appears to have been during recent decades a shifting of the population from the smaller to the larger communes, as is indicated by Table II.

Although the total number of communes¹⁶ in postwar Hungary changed very little during the period 1910-1930, there was a sig-

TABLE III—POPULATION INCREASE OF AUTONOMOUS CITIES OF HUNGARY, 1920-1930*

AUTONOMOUS CITY	POPULATION 1930	NET INCREASE 1920-1930 <i>Per Cent</i>	NATURAL INCREASE 1920-1930 <i>Per Cent</i>
Baja	27,940	23.0	-0.3
Budapest	1,004,699	8.2	0.0
Debrecen	117,410	13.8	7.0
Győr	50,977	1.9	3.8
Hódmezővásárhely	60,176	-1.2	3.0
Kecskemét	79,505	8.7	11.0
Miskolc	61,465	7.9	4.5
Pécs	61,801	29.9	-0.6
Sopron	35,887	1.8	5.1
Szeged	135,131	9.4	6.1
Székesfehérvár	40,731	4.1	2.4

*Compiled from *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, No. 38 (N.S.), 1930, Budapest, 1932, pp. 7-8.

nificant change in the distribution of the communes according to size of population. Those with a population of less than 1000 showed a steady decrease both in their number and in the percentage of the total population resident in them. On the other hand, those with a population of more than 10,000 showed a marked increase in both respects. In spite of the fact that the population of the area of *tanya* settlement¹⁷ in the Alföld is included in that of the fourth class of communes and also that a relatively small increase in the population of some communes occasionally changes them from one class to another,¹⁸ this table indicates that there has been a change in the pattern of distribution of the population.

That the trend toward the concentration of the population in the larger communities has resulted from migration rather than from natural increase is also indicated by the census.

The "peasant cities" of Hódmezővásárhely and Kecskemét are largely rural, rather than urban, agglomerations. Although Debrecen

¹⁶ The number of communes in the area covered by postwar Hungary was 3466 in 1910; it increased to 3474 in 1920 but decreased to 3419 in 1930.

¹⁷ The *tanya* movement has seldom involved migration across communal boundaries.

¹⁸ This same difficulty is encountered by the United States Bureau of the Census in dealing with the rural-urban distribution of the population.

and Szeged also belong to the class of "peasant cities," they are rapidly developing a truly urban character,¹⁹ a fact reflected in the excess of net increase over natural increase. The reverse trend in Győr and Sopron is due to the economic hardships suffered by these border cities as a result of the loss of their trade areas through the

TABLE IV—INCREASE OF THE POPULATION OF BUDAPEST, 1873-1930*

DECENNIAL PERIOD	TOTAL INCREASE	MIGRATION Per Cent	NATURAL INCREASE Per Cent
1874-1880	73,900	92.2	7.8
1881-1890	135,617	86.7	13.3
1891-1900	226,974	70.2	29.8
1901-1910	147,013	55.4	44.6
1911-1920	48,625	100.0	- decrease, 14,387
1921-1930	75,703	99.5	0.5

*Thirring, *Budapest Fél százados Fejlődése*, p. 28. Data for 1930 are taken from *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, No. 38 (N.S.), 1930, p. 7.

Treaty of Trianon. The consequent migration from these cities exceeded the natural increase.

Although the census of Hungary indicates that a rural-urban migration is taking place, the characteristics of this migration can be learned only through a more detailed study of individual cities. The size and cosmopolitan character of Budapest and the fact that its increase in population is due almost entirely to migration give it especial significance in relation to the migrations of Hungarian peasants.

Since the formation of the city of Budapest in 1873 through the union of Buda, Pest and Ó-Buda the decennial increase of the population has been as shown in Table IV.

An enumeration²⁰ made in 1925 of the population of Budapest according to place of birth showed that only 38.46 per cent of the residents of the city had been born there, whereas 37.35 per cent had been born inside the limits of present Hungary outside Budapest. The distribution of the latter group according to county of birth reveals a significant pattern of migration to Budapest from rural Hungary. Of these 359,403 migrants settled in Budapest, 23.73 per cent were born in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, which surrounds Budapest, and 9.37 per cent were born in Fejér County, which adjoins

¹⁹ Mendöl Tibor: Alföldi városaink morfológiája, *Tisia*, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 3-44 (see note elsewhere in this number of the *Geographical Review*).

²⁰ Illyefalvi I. Lajos: Budapest Székesfőváros Statisztikai és Közigazgatási Évkönyve, 1930, p. 60.

the metropolitan region of Budapest on the west. Thus almost one-third of all the migrants to Budapest from present Hungary came from the two counties immediately adjacent to the capital.

When the percentages contributed by the remaining counties of present Hungary are taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that other factors than mere nearness are involved in directing the flow of migration to Budapest. The 11 counties of the Dunántúl, or western division of Hungary, furnished 44.19 per cent of all the migrants to Budapest from present Hungary, though in 1930 these 11 counties had only 34.15 per cent of the total population of Hungary exclusive of Budapest. In fact, as Thirring²¹ points out, this group of counties has contributed ever since 1880 a disproportionately large part of the population of Budapest. One of the Dunántúl counties, Zala, with a population of 365,120 in 1930, contributed 5.25 per cent of the migrants from present Hungary to Budapest. Csongrád County, with a population of 343,784, is considerably nearer to Budapest than Zala is. Yet Csongrád contributed only 2.61 per cent of these migrants. Another Dunántúl county, Vas, with a population of 274,914, is almost twice as far away from Budapest on the west as Heves County is on the east. Vas, however, contributed 4.65 per cent of the migrants, whereas Heves, with a population of 316,468, contributed only 3.56 per cent. Apparently the greater diffusion of urban culture in the Dunántúl than in the eastern counties of Hungary has been a powerful factor in the differential rate of migration from rural Hungary to the capital. However, a satisfactory study of the migration to Budapest from present Hungary should take into account other types of migration, such as the movement to the *tanya* and emigration to America, since these frequently assume large proportions in counties from which only a few migrants have gone to Budapest.

The character of the migration from rural Hungary to Budapest is indicated by the increasing preponderance of women over men in the sex ratio of the capital. In 1900 there were in Budapest 1022 females to 1000 males; in 1910, 1030 females to 1000 males; in 1920, 1154 females to 1000 males; and in 1930, 1189 females to 1000 males. On the other hand, the census of 1930 showed that with the exception of five cities and one county²² the ratio of females to males declined in every part of Hungary during the ten-year period 1920-1930. In six of the more rural counties the males now outnumber the females. This migration of the women of rural Hungary was stimulated by the aftereffects of the World War. Great numbers of young women from peasant villages sought and still seek economic and social emancipation in the freer atmosphere of Budapest: *Stadtluft macht frei*.

²¹ Thirring Gusztáv: Budapest Félézázados Fejlődése, 1873-1923, Budapest, 1925, pp. 47-48.

²² Magyar Statisztikai Szemle, Vol. 9, 1931, p. 106.

EMIGRATION

During recent years America has been the principal goal of Hungarian emigration. Continental migration, especially before the World War, involved chiefly the non-Magyar residents of Hungary. Oversea migration brought to the United States during the years 1898-1913 about 402,000 Magyars²³ and during the years 1914-1924 about

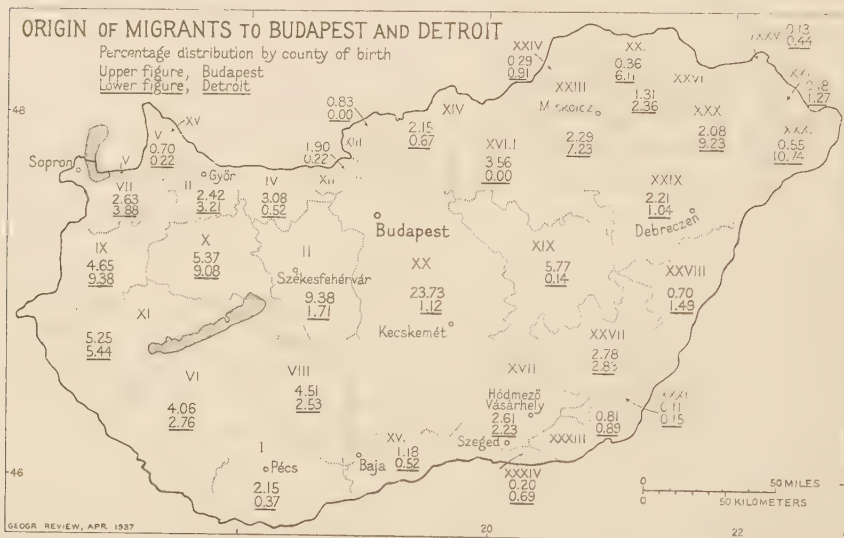


FIG. 3.—Map showing the origin of the migrants to Budapest according to the percentage distribution of each group by county of birth. The upper figure shows the proportion of 350,403 residents of Budapest born in the specified county (1925 city census); the lower (underscored) figure shows the proportion of 1,341 residents of Detroit born in the specified county (Budapest is excluded).

180,000 more. Owing to repatriation and other causes, the total number of Hungarians in the United States in 1930—both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage—was only 590,768.

The United States census of 1930 showed that 482,023 persons of Hungarian stock, or 81.6 per cent of the total in the country, were urban. Most of the Hungarian peasants who emigrated to America settled in the cities. The city of Detroit, with a Hungarian population of 22,311 in 1930, ranked fourth among the cities of the United States as a center of Hungarian settlement, exceeded only by New York, Cleveland, and Chicago.

Data on county and commune of origin were obtained from a sample of 1850 Hungarian immigrants resident in Detroit. Of the total number in the sample, 481 had been born in territory ceded from Hungary by the Treaty of the Trianon and 28 had been born in Budapest. Of the remaining 1,341 born in present Hungary outside

²³ Gustav Thirring: *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, in *International Migrations*, Vol. 2, edited by W. F. Willcox (Publs. Natl. Bur. of Econ. Research, Inc., No. 18), New York, 1931, pp. 411-439; references on pp. 424, 429, and 434.

Budapest, the largest numbers were furnished by the following counties: Szatmár, 144; Heves, 134; Vas, 125; Szabolcs, 123; Veszprém, 121; Borsod, 97; Abaúj-Torna, 82; Zala, 73; Sopron, 52; Győr, 43; Békés, 38; Somogy, 37.

A comparison of the percentages contributed by these 12 counties to the *tanya* settlers, the migrants to Budapest, and the sample of

TABLE V—RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HUNGARIAN COUNTIES
TO TYPES OF MIGRATION

COUNTY (See Fig. 3)	POPULATION 1930	DETROIT*	PERCENTAGE BUDAPEST†	TANYA§
Szatmár (XXXI) . . .	125,744	10.74	0.55	1.51
Heves (XVIII) . . .	316,468	10.00	3.56	
Vas (IX)	274,913	9.38	4.65	
Szabolcs (XXX) . . .	389,123	9.23	2.08	9.30
Veszprém (X)	243,437	9.08	5.37	
Borsod (XXIII) . . .	440,278	7.23	2.29	
Abaúj-Torna (XXI) . .	91,413	6.11	0.36	
Zala (XI)	365,120	5.44	5.25	
Sopron (VII)	179,231	3.88	2.63	
Győr (III)	147,743	3.21	2.42	
Békés (XXVII)	330,242	2.83	2.78	12.01
Somogy (VI)	385,371	2.76	4.06	

*Sample of 1341 Hungarians. †359,403 migrants. §896,918 settlers.

Hungarian residents in Detroit is significant. Although these 12 counties furnished 79.89 per cent of the sample of immigrants from present Hungary outside Budapest resident in Detroit, they furnished only 36.00 per cent of the migrants to Budapest and only 22.82 per cent of the *tanya* settlers.

These counties are characterized by the predominance of agriculturists in the occupational distribution of their population. Of all employed persons in Hungary outside the autonomous cities, 66.2 per cent were engaged in agriculture.²⁴ The percentage of agriculturists for nearly every one of these 12 counties was higher than that for the entire country. In Szatmár County it was 79.6 per cent; in Szabolcs, 72.3; in Győr, 79.8; and in Abaúj-Torna, 74.0.

Investigation of the commune of origin of the same sample of Hungarian residents of Detroit furnished additional evidence of the rural character of these immigrants. Although 54.9 per cent of the population of Hungary live in communes of more than 5000 inhabitants, only 20.8 per cent of the Detroit group were born in such communes. The Hungarian immigrants who have settled in Detroit

²⁴ *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, No. 36 (N.S.), 1928, Budapest, 1930.

appear to have come not only from the more rural and agricultural regions of Hungary but also to a large extent from the smaller communes rather than from the larger communes or the cities.

A further indication of the cultural difference between the centers of migration to Budapest and to Detroit is shown by the birth rates of the counties. In 1930 the birth rate for all Hungary was 25.4 live births to 1000 inhabitants. Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, which contributed 23.73 per cent of the migrants from present Hungary to Budapest and only 1.12 per cent of the Detroit group, had a birth rate of 23.6. The Dunántúl region, which has long furnished the bulk of the population of the capital, had a birth rate of 24.6. On the other hand, several of the counties that furnished the highest percentages of the Detroit group had birth rates considerably higher than that of the entire country. The birth rate of Szatmár was 35.8; that of Szabolcs 37.6; and that of Heves 28.8. In Hungary the diffusion of the practice of birth control among the peasantry and the consequent decline in the birth rate appear to be reliable indexes of the extent of contact with urban culture.

The cultural background of the migrants to Budapest thus is significantly different from that of the Hungarian immigrants who have settled in Detroit. Migration from rural Hungary to Budapest tends to show a close relationship to the spread of urban culture. Peasants and the daughters of peasants have gone to the metropolis to escape from the primary group associations and controls of peasant villages and to gain higher social and economic status in what was to them a new world. On the other hand, the immigrants who settled in Detroit came largely from those regions that have been least affected by urban culture. A large number of the Hungarian immigrants who were interviewed stated that at the time of migration they had had no desire to remain permanently in the United States. Their hope was that they might attain a more satisfactory economic and social status in their home village through the wages that they might earn during their sojourn in America. Dissatisfied as they were with their position in the village community, they still felt themselves very much a part of it. Unlike the peasants who migrated to Budapest, these immigrants to America had little intention at first of breaking away from the primary group relationships of peasant life. To some extent the foreign-language colony has helped to prolong the security afforded by peasant society and has lessened the personal disorganization resulting from the sudden change of social environment.

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OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESSION OF HUNGARIANS IN DETROIT

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Detroit, Michigan

ABSTRACT

In the occupational adjustment of first-generation immigrants the fundamental factor is the ability to capitalize previous occupational experience in meeting the occupational needs of the country of immigration. The consequent normal adjustment is affected and altered by the interplay of the following factors: (a) First occupational opportunities after immigration. (b) Settlement in a foreign-language colony, which delays, in the case of many of its members, the necessity of making direct adjustment to the occupational needs of the larger community. Through the protection thus afforded, a limited number of otherwise maladjusted immigrants are able to capitalize within the colony their previous occupational experience. (c) Transitory occupations, frequently of an illicit character, which serve a small proportion of the members of the group as stepping-stones toward occupations which give the immigrant higher status. (d) Individual differences among persons of like occupational experience. The second generation of immigrants shows a decided tendency toward inter-occupational ascent, apparently due to the occupational maladjustment of the parents subsequent to immigration.

Occupational succession involves two distinct phases of inter-occupational circulation—that taking place within the lifetime of the individual and that shown in the transmission of occupations from one generation to the next. It is thus to be distinguished from intra-occupational circulation, either on the horizontal or on the vertical plane. Neither mere labor turnover nor purely spatial shifting on the one hand nor change of rank within the same occupation on the other falls within the meaning of this concept.

The groups whose occupational succession has been investigated belong to one or other of three types according to their relation to modern migration, which, except in the case of pioneer settlement, ordinarily precipitates a new cycle of occupational adjustment on the part of immigrants in so far as they participate in the occupational structure of the country of immigration: first, a native-born population, not affected by immigration;¹ second, immigrants settled in an

¹ Examples of studies of this type are the following: Morris Ginsberg, "Interchange between Social Classes," *Economic Journal*, December, 1929, pp. 554-65; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders* (New York: Macmillan, 1932). P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1927), pp. 416 ff., including the studies made by Sorokin and Tanquist of business men in Minneapolis.

area dominated by the plantation economy;² and third, immigrants settled in industrial urban areas.³

The following investigation is of the third type and deals with the problem of occupational adjustment faced by immigrants from a country in which peasant agriculture was the predominant economy. This problem is illustrated by the occupational succession taking place among the members of the Hungarian immigrant group in Detroit, Michigan.

According to the census of 1930, there were in Detroit and ten adjacent municipalities⁴ 26,304 persons of foreign white stock originating within the limits of post-war Hungary. Of this number, 12,943 had been born within the territory remaining under Hungarian sovereignty after the Treaty of the Trianon; 13,361 were native white, of foreign or mixed parentage.⁵ Out of this total Hungarian population in the Detroit Metropolitan Area, it is reasonable to assume that there were at least 6,000 persons gainfully employed in the spring of 1932.

Out of the total number of Hungarian wage-earners in the area, a sample of 1,023 persons was selected, in order that a detailed study of the sequence of occupational adjustments might be made. Since there is at present no means of determining the exact distribution of Hungarian immigrants in the different occupations, the assistance of all the organized groups, religious and social, of the Detroit Hungarian colony was relied upon, in order that the sample might be both random and representative.

² Examples of studies of this type are the following: Andrew W. Lind, "Occupational Trends among Immigrant Groups in Hawaii," *Social Forces*, VII (1928), 290-97; and other articles referred to by R. D. McKenzie, "Cultural and Racial Differences as Bases of Human Symbiosis," in Kimball Young, *Social Attitudes*, chap. vi.

³ Examples of studies of this type are Otto Ammon's investigation of immigrants from the country to Karlsruhe and the *Report of the United States Immigration Commission*, Vol. VII (1911). These are quoted in Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 442 and 451.

⁴ Dearborn, Ecorse, Ferndale, Grosse Pointe, Hamtramck, Highland Park, Lincoln Park, River Rouge, Royal Oak, and Wyandotte.

⁵ In the city of Detroit alone, the foreign white stock originating in post-war Hungary numbered 22,311, of whom 11,162 were foreign born and 11,149 native born of foreign or mixed parentage. The mother-tongue classification is used in the census of 1930 solely for the foreign born. According to it, there were 10,865 foreign-born persons of Magyar mother-tongue resident in the city of Detroit in 1930.

Of the 1,023 gainfully employed Hungarians in the sample, 805 persons, or 78.7 per cent, belonged to the first generation,⁶ having been gainfully employed in Hungary prior to migration. Their occupational distribution in Hungary was as follows:

Agriculture and allied industries.....	426
Mining.....	6
Factory labor.....	40
Total—Agriculture and unskilled labor.....	472
Skilled in trade and industry.....	297
Professional, public service (except labor), clerical.....	36

The accommodation of these persons to the occupational structure of Detroit was very largely dependent upon their ability to capitalize their previous occupational experience.⁷ In all three occupational groups⁸ of the Hungarian economy there may be found three principal types of adjustment.

1. *Those persons who had opportunity in America to capitalize more or less fully their previous occupational experience.* Such were the factory laborers from Budapest, of whom 77.5 per cent remained in factory labor after migration. Since this investigation was confined to the Detroit Metropolitan Area, it obviously fails to show the successful adjustment of Hungarian miners and agriculturalists to the American economy. A considerable number of Hungarian miners are said⁹ to have found employment in the coal mines of West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The extent to which Hungarian agricultur-

⁶ The term "second generation" is usually restricted to persons born in the country of immigration. Franz Boas, in *Abstract of the Report on Changes in Bodily Form of Immigrants*, Immigration Commission, 1911, restricted the term to "the children of American-born children of immigrants." In this occupational study, however, "second generation" includes all whose first gainful employment was in the United States whether foreign born or native born of foreign parents. Hence, "first generation" refers only to those employed in Hungary before emigration.

⁷ *Vide* Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926), p. 45.

⁸ *I.e.*, (1) agriculturalists and unskilled laborers; (2) persons skilled in trade and industry (the *iparos osztály*); (3) the intelligentsia.

⁹ Statement by Hilmer Márton, publisher of the *Detroiti Magyarorság* and seven other Hungarian weeklies, including the *Magyar Ujság*, of Cleveland, the *Híradó*, of Dayton, the *Magyar Figyelő*, of Akron, and the *Ujság*, of Flint.

alists have remained on the farm after migration is shown by the census of 1930, which classes 18 per cent of the foreign born of Magyar mother-tongue in the United States as rural. This percentage is exactly the same as that given for the English and Celtic group and exceeds that of seven other foreign-born groups. However, the degree of urbanization reached by the Magyar-speaking group is higher than that for the total number of foreign born, which is 80.5 per cent. A significant use of past occupational experience is found in the case of Hungarian viniculturalists, who have been employed rather extensively by the grape-growers of Ohio and California.¹⁰ Among the members of the first generation in Detroit who were interviewed, however, not more than 8.5 per cent of the former agriculturalists and unskilled laborers were able to capitalize their previous occupational experience.

Certain of the persons engaged in trade and industry had occupations from which adjustment to the American occupational structure was easy. Such were the cabinet-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, wheelwrights, stonemasons, locksmiths, painters, tool-makers, machinists, iron-molders. In practically every one of these most adaptable occupations, however, a few individuals reverted to unskilled labor or else to illicit occupations. In spite of the adaptability of their occupations, the individuals themselves were not adaptable. As one man remarked, "When a Hungarian bricklayer is forced to become a laborer in Detroit, it shows the kind of bricklayer he was. Had he been a good bricklayer, he would have had a better chance here than he ever had in Hungary." In the case of the adaptable occupations, migration leads to a sifting by which the least efficient persons are crowded out. The remainder secure employment either in their old occupation or in some closely allied one. The fact that the sample showed no locksmiths from Hungary who were employed as locksmiths in Detroit has no significance, since seven out of eight of these became either toolmakers or machinists. Of the five cabinet-makers who changed their occupation after migration, four became carpenters. Persons engaged in any adaptable occupation can, if they themselves are efficient, maintain themselves in their old or in some closely allied occupation.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Among the Hungarian intelligentsia, certain occupations, such as physicians and mechanical engineers, make an immediate and successful adjustment. They bring with them a skill which is needed in the American economy and are able to capitalize fully on their previous occupational experience. An example of this is the case of the Hungarian chemical engineers who were brought from Sárvár, Hungary, to Hopewell, Virginia, a few years ago in order that their technological skill might be utilized in the manufacture of artificial silk.¹¹

2. *Those persons who are unable to capitalize their previous occupational experience.* Such are the former agriculturalists who became unskilled factory laborers. One-third of all the first-generation immigrants in the sample made this adjustment. A number of them had attempted to "rise" into some skilled trade or business but were unable to maintain themselves and were forced back into unskilled factory labor. Trade schools of shady character exploited the ambition of Hungarian laborers to become acetylene-welders and metal-polishers. A considerable number squandered the capital earned through factory labor in futile attempts to become grocers and butchers. A few persons entered agriculture—for a time! After they had invested their entire capital on farm equipment, they were compelled to return to factory labor in the city because of the discontent of their families, who had become acculturated to urban life.

A number of persons skilled in trade and industry had occupations which they were unable to adapt to the American economy. Makers of long Hungarian boots (*csizmadiák*), majolica painters, typesetters, and tanners enter either unskilled labor or illicit occupations. The question has been raised, why such specialists cannot find a place, why Hungarian boot-makers, for instance, do not make riding boots for country clubs. The factor of opportunity of contact enters here. The immigrant Hungarian boot-maker has no opportunity to make contacts with those American groups which could use his products.

An abnormally large proportion of the immigrant members of the Hungarian intelligentsia had occupations which they were unable to carry over from one culture to the other, owing to language and other difficulties. The lawyer, bookkeeper, town clerk, army officer,

¹¹ Statement by Eugene Farkas, director of the research laboratory of the Ford Motor Company, at Dearborn, Michigan.

and university professor were compelled to change their occupations after migration. In order to maintain their social status, these members of the intelligentsia sought desperately to avoid the necessity of entering the ranks of labor. A former lawyer who became an office clerk in Detroit explained why he did not enter factory labor, in which his pay check would have been larger:

I am an intelligent man. In Hungary I was a lawyer. Would you expect me to work beside former peasants in the production department of an automobile factory? Every peasant who knew me would ridicule me. I may not receive as much money a week as they do. At any rate I keep my self-respect.

3. *Those persons who were able to maintain themselves occupationally only through the protection of the foreign-language colony.* The occupational distribution within the Hungarian colony¹² and outside of it, as shown by an investigation of 3,682 obviously Hungarian names¹³ in the *Detroit City Directory* of 1931-32, is set forth in Table I.

The colony has served as a refuge for maladjusted Hungarians. The high percentage of Hungarian unemployed found in Delray is largely explained by the fact that those Hungarians who "failed" outside the colony moved back into humbler quarters in Delray after unemployment had caused them to lose the homes which they were buying in more desirable sections.

Almost three-fourths of all Hungarians engaged in illicit occupations were¹⁴ to be found within the colony. This was due to the prevalence of the Hungarian "candy store,"¹⁵ which ministered to the

¹² The Hungarian colony of Detroit occupies approximately the area of the old village of Delray, which was annexed to Detroit in 1904; the colony is usually known among Hungarians as "Delray." It extends from Clark Avenue to the Rouge River and from Fort Street to the Detroit River.

¹³ In any conclusion regarding the occupational and spatial distribution of the Hungarians of Detroit based on these data, allowance must be made for the fact that increasing assimilation to the American culture leads many Hungarians to change their surnames. Hence the obviously Hungarian surnames show a disproportionately large number in the Hungarian colony and among the unemployed and unskilled laborers.

¹⁴ Since the legalization of beer and wine, practically all the Hungarian "candy stores" and "blind pigs" have become licensed beer gardens.

¹⁵ The Hungarian "candy store" of prohibition days could not be classified as either saloon or house of prostitution, though it had features of both. It received its name from its "front"—a small store opening on the street, in which a few groceries and candy

needs of an American, rather than a Hungarian, group but required the protection of the colony in order to survive.

Certain specialists in trade and industry, especially butchers and shoemakers, have been able to maintain themselves only through the protection of the colony. The occupational adjustment of these specialists must be explained in terms of the needs of the foreign-language colony. Until a satisfactory knowledge of English is acquired, persons engaged in these occupations must serve the needs of a group

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DETROIT HUNGARIANS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF HUNGARIAN COLONY

Occupational Class	Within Colony	Outside Colony
Unemployed.....	62.4	37.6
Unskilled labor.....	35.6	64.4
Skilled in manufacturing.....	29.2	70.8
Trade, transportation, domestic and personal service. . .	37.5	62.5
Professional, public service (except labor), and clerical. . .	27.8	72.2
Illicit.....	72.9	27.1
Total.....	55.7	44.3

whose language they understand. With a poor knowledge of English, Hungarian shoemakers and butchers cannot compete in non-Hungarian communities. The needs of the Hungarian colony, however, are definitely limited as to both shoemakers and butchers. The supply of such specialists has been greater than the demand. For this reason part of them have been forced into unskilled labor or illicit occupations.

The foreign-language colony protects a certain number of its mal-adjusted professional men also. The offices of Hungarian newspapers, steamship brokers, real estate and insurance agencies provide a meager livelihood for a limited number of these displaced members

bars were placed on exhibit. Its real business was the serving of bootleg liquor to the customers, the majority of whom were Americans. A peculiar system of flirtation was in vogue between the landlady and her daughters on the one hand and the male customers on the other. The former took care to protect themselves from the men by making the latter drunk.

of the intelligentsia. Those who are unable, because of occupational congestion, to secure this sort of employment frequently secure a livelihood by preying upon the laboring members of the colony. These parasites, who exploit their fellow-countrymen in a variety of ways, do not engage in illicit or any other form of trade: they cannot or will not work, but believe that their status entitles them to a living from those who work.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,023 GAINFULLY EMPLOYED HUNGARIANS OF DETROIT, BY GROUP OF ORIGIN, AMONG THE GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	FIRST GENERATION	SECOND GENERATION	
		Born in Hungary	Born in United States
Unskilled labor.....	50.5	12.5	24.4
Skilled in manufacturing.....	27.8	31.2	26.6
Trade, transportation, domestic and personal service.....	14.0	32.0	26.6
Professional, public service (except labor), clerical	3.4	15.6	21.1
Illicit.....	4.1	8.6	1.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

In this investigation the second generation is treated as consisting of two groups: those born in Hungary, but unemployed prior to migration; and those born in the United States.¹⁶ Table II shows the distribution among the general occupational classes of the 218 members of the second generation in the sample, as contrasted with the distribution of the members of the first generation.

Although the sample of 1,023 gainfully employed Hungarians included only 90 persons born in Canada or in the United States, the 1930 census showed that the American-born second generation of Hungarians in the Detroit Metropolitan Area was already of greater

¹⁶ There were in the sample three persons born in Canada of Hungarian immigrant parents. Since this is an investigation of the effect of migration on occupational succession, it seemed advisable to put the Canadian-born propositi in the class of those born in the United States.

numerical importance than the total foreign-born Hungarian population.¹⁷ Although comparatively few members of the second generation of Hungarians, born in the United States, were old enough to secure employment before the depression, yet the position taken by these persons in the occupational structure has a significance much greater than their actual numbers. They are the first to secure employment from among the thousands of American-born Hungarians growing up in Detroit.

A comparison of the two groups into which the second generation is divided shows that the American-born Hungarians have a relatively higher number in unskilled labor and in professional, public service, and clerical occupations than have those born in Hungary who had no occupation prior to emigration. The latter have a relatively greater number in the skilled trades and in the illicit occupations than either first-generation immigrants or American-born Hungarians. The American-born group shows two opposing tendencies—toward unskilled labor and toward the professions. If they enter industry, they ordinarily become unskilled laborers. On the other hand, they have a larger proportion in the professional and clerical occupations than do the remainder of the Hungarian people. In fact, these American-born Hungarians had a larger percentage of their numbers in the professional, public service, and clerical occupations than had the total gainfully employed population of Detroit. The latter had only 18.8 per cent¹⁸ in the professional, public service (except labor), and clerical occupations, while the American-born Hungarians had 21.1 per cent of their number in these occupational classes.¹⁹

¹⁷ In the total foreign born are included the first generation, that group of the second generation born in Hungary but unemployed prior to migration and also those individuals in the third group—"Born in United States"—who were actually born in Canada of immigrant Hungarian parents.

¹⁸ Compiled from *Occupational Statistics: Michigan, 1930 Census*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁹ The significance of the comparison between the two groups forming the second generation of immigrant Hungarians may be tested by the formulas in A. L. Bowley, *Elements of Statistics* (4th ed., London, 1920), pp. 280 and 331. By these formulas the difference between the two groups is 2.25 times the standard deviation and is therefore very significant. The probability is 976 in 1,000 that there is a real difference between the two groups.

In spite of the large percentage of Hungarian immigrants who remain permanently in those occupations in which they first secured employment after immigration,²⁰ there were in the sample 125 former agriculturalists who were able, after migration, to enter some specialized occupation which received more social approval than unskilled labor among Hungarian immigrants. These persons were divided, according to present occupations, as follows:

Skilled in manufacturing	69
Trade, transportation, domestic and personal service	39
Professional	1
Illicit	16

The rise of former peasant agriculturalists into skilled trades and forms of business has been accomplished largely by means of "elevators,"²¹ by means of which these individuals have "gone up" into occupations which appear more desirable than unskilled labor or peasant agriculture to the Hungarian immigrant group. In the case of several who made a very satisfactory adjustment, the illicit sale of liquor served as such an elevator, lifting the individual from unskilled labor into an occupation which gave him greater status.²² Butchers, hardware merchants, undertakers, druggists, and others began their occupational career in America as unskilled laborers. In time they opened up "candy stores" or saloons. Out of the profit secured from the illicit sale of liquor these individuals were able to invest in some legitimate business.

In the case of the second generation, the principal factor in the occupational "rise" of the child has been the desire to regain the status

²⁰ The correlation of first occupations in America with present occupations in America, for 1,003 cases, gave a contingency coefficient of .70 and χ^2 -test for significance—of 964. *Vide* R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (Edinburgh: Oliver, 1932), pp. 87-93, for this test. This correlation is very far beyond the range of Fisher's tables; hence the probability of independence of the data is very remote. Hungarian immigrants tend to remain permanently within those occupations in which they first secured employment after immigration.

²¹ P. A. Sorokin, "Social Mobility," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, XI, 21-32.

²² Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, p. 448, speaks of "the social degradation . . . of people of qualified occupation and social standing . . . who become criminals." In this investigation the contrary has been found to be the case. Illicit occupations have brought increased social status to the immigrant Hungarians rather than social degradation.

lost by the father after migration.²³ Maladjusted parents who were unable to capitalize their previous occupational experience gave to their growing children imaginative descriptions of the status they had enjoyed in the old homeland. The consequences are to be found in the rise of the sons and daughters into the professions. Cooley said: "The solid facts of life are the facts of the imagination." The dissatisfied immigrant worker has been probably the principal factor in the unusually rapid ascent of American-born Hungarians into the professions. This desire to regain status is not shared equally by all the children of a maladjusted father. Individual differences between the children lead one to seek the professions and the other to remain in unskilled labor.²⁴

²³ The occupations of the second generation in America showed a closer correlation with the occupations in Hungary of the first generation than with the occupations in America of the latter. This was due to the cases in which the child of an immigrant recovered the occupational status which the father had lost through migration.

²⁴ F. H. Hankins, "Individual Differences and their Significance for Social Theory," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1922, pp. 27-39.

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SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN DETROIT¹

ERDMANN DOANE BEYNON

ABSTRACT

Hungarian immigrants in Detroit may be divided into two principal classes, based upon the social stratification of Hungary. To the one class belong the members of the intelligentsia, who are relatively few in number owing to the selective character of the migration. To the other class belong both skilled and unskilled laborers and tradesmen. Members of the intelligentsia who cannot maintain their former occupations or any of commensurate status tend to sever all connection with their fellow-countrymen. Another group consists of those members of the intelligentsia who have been able to maintain their occupational status through the protection of the foreign-language colony. A third group is made up of those who have been able to maintain, or improve, their status outside the Hungarian colony. Among these successful members of the Hungarian intelligentsia there develop hostile attitudes accentuating the class prejudice toward Hungarians of lower status, while at the same time an effort is made to gain acceptance among the socially élite of the American group. Hungarian immigrant society is thus deprived of the leadership of its successful members.

The social relationships of the Hungarian immigrants in Detroit may be considered from the viewpoint of the following types of association: that of persons, that of classes, and that of national groups. In order that the social distance involved in each of these types of association entered by immigrants in an American urban community may be understood, it is necessary to investigate the social stratification prevailing in the country from which these immigrants have come.

Prior to the War of Independence in 1848, Hungary's social strati-

¹ This study is based upon 100 interviews with Hungarian immigrants in Detroit of the occupational and social classes dealt with.

fication was very rigid. The two great classes were the nobles and the non-nobles. The prerogatives of the nobility² were guaranteed by a law³ which made no distinction in their constitutional rights. Custom, however, established marked gradations among the three principal classes of nobles:

1. The magnates—*főurak*—titled families corresponding to the English peerage.
2. The untitled nobles—*köznemesek*—corresponding to the English gentry.
3. The "one house" nobles—*kurta nemesek* or *bocskoros nemesek*⁴—men who possessed the hereditary rights of nobility, but who in every other respect—in property, education, and manners—were little above the peasant.

At the time of Paget's visit the total number of the members of the three grades of nobility amounted to about half a million, out of a total population in the country of about ten millions. The remaining nine and a half millions were compelled to provide taxes for the state, rent for the noble landlords, and a livelihood for themselves. Article IX of the Hungarian Reform Bill of 1848 abolished at once the *robot*, or forced labor of the peasants for the landlords, and all forced dues, whether in money or in kind.⁵ This abolition of serfdom changed the stratification of Hungarian society from a hereditary to a functional basis, although the latter has its roots in the hereditary stratification of the past. Hungarian society of today may be divided into four principal classes, each of which has several subclasses:

1. Peasant agriculturalists and urban laborers
2. "Specialists in trade and industry"
3. The intelligentsia
4. The land-owning aristocracy

The contribution made by the titled aristocracy of Hungary to American immigration has been negligible since the period immediately following the Hungarian War of Independence, because virtually all immigrants belong to the first three classes. Problems of social

² John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania* (London, 1839), I, 398-421, lists these prerogatives: the person of the noble was inviolable; he was subject to no one but his legally crowned king; he alone might hold landed property; he was subject to neither tithe, tax, nor toll.

³ The *Bulla Aurea*, signed by Andrew II, in 1222.

⁴ I.e., short, or sandaled nobles. They were also called *félsarkantyus*, or half-spurred nobles.

⁵ Arthur J. Patterson, *The Magyars* (London, 1869), I, 318-35.

mobility and social distance among Hungarian immigrants are concerned almost entirely with the relationship between the intelligentsia and the members of the first and second classes.

Specialists in trade and industry and members of the intelligentsia are superficially rather sharply differentiated. Social barriers, however, exert an influence and confuse the apparently simple occupational differentiation. An illustration of this is furnished by the difficulty encountered in making an occupational survey of a Hungarian county.⁶ In this survey, agriculturists and unskilled laborers, on the one hand, and members of the landed aristocracy, on the other, were not listed. In the two classes dealt with, there was no confusion in regard to certain occupations; thus barbers, butchers, inn-keepers, carpenters, cabinet-makers were always treated as "specialists in trade and industry," while clergymen, school-teachers, village clerks were always listed as belonging to the intelligentsia. Confusion arose, however, when an attempt was made to classify mill-proprietors, druggists, alcohol distillers, lawyers, and veterinaries. The commune of Egercsehi even reported its sole physician as a "specialist in trade and industry," rather than as a professional man. In this particular case the physician seems to have lost status in the local community. The report from the large commune of Hatvan listed one of its two veterinaries as a "specialist in trade and industry" and the other as a member of the intelligentsia. Of nine lawyers in Hatvan, one was given the lower status and eight were listed as professional men. The explanation of this confusion seems to be that certain occupational groups, such as lawyers and veterinaries, were considered to occupy a marginal position between the two classifications.⁷

Members of the Hungarian intelligentsia form a social as well as an occupational class. Persons belonging to the *uri osztály* (the gentry), are included in this class, while persons whose social status is of the *nép* (the people), i.e., the common people, are classified as "specialists in trade and industry," if they are not engaged in the

⁶ *Hevesmegyei Compass az 1923 Évre* (published by the Eger Press for the Business Men's Association of Eger, Heves Co., Hungary).

⁷ Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 148-55, points out a similar classification—between *los correctos* and *los tontos*—in Mexican villages.

basic economic occupations. There is a very keen class consciousness among virtually all members of this occupational and social class. They feel themselves marked off from the aristocracy on the one hand and from the lower classes on the other. The historical reason for this social distance is the fact that a large proportion of the members of the old *köznemes*, or squire class, entered and still enter professional and public service occupations. The old dividing line between non-noble and noble seems now to be placed between the "specialists in trade and industry" and the intelligentsia.

A compilation of the statistics of the City of Budapest for March 1, 1928,⁸ assigns 77,478 persons to the class of the intelligentsia.⁹ This class thus constituted 15.64 per cent of all gainfully employed persons in Budapest at that time. The selective character of the Hungarian migration to America is shown by the greatly reduced proportion of members of this class among immigrant groups. Out of a sample of 805 Hungarian immigrants in Detroit who had been employed prior to emigration from Hungary, only 36, or 4.47 per cent, had been members of the intelligentsia.

Three principal types of occupational adjustment may be found among the immigrant Hungarian intelligentsia settled in Detroit:

1. Those persons who have been unable, after migration, to maintain themselves in their old occupations or in occupations of similar status. Of the 36 members of the Hungarian intelligentsia in the foregoing sample, 14 were found to be engaged in occupations considered to be of lower status. A former university professor had become a cleaner and dyer. Another intellectual had become a peddler. Unskilled factory labor had become the occupation of 11.1 per cent of all the immigrant intelligentsia. The protection afforded by the foreign-language colony is limited. Only a comparatively small number of immigrant intellectuals can find for themselves a satisfactory

⁸ Known in Hungarian as *szellemi foglalkozásuak*, which is translated in Yolland's *Hungarian-English Dictionary* as "brain-workers" and which includes a wider range of occupations than the combined categories of professional, public service, and clerical occupations of the United States census.

⁹ Illyefalvi I. Lajos, *Budapest Székesfőváros Statistikai és Közigazgatási Évkönyve* (1930), pp. 59, 696. The total number of gainfully employed persons in Budapest in 1928 was 495,145.

occupational niche within the colony. Those who cannot in any way capitalize their previous occupational experience tend to move away entirely from their fellow-countrymen. Feeling keenly their loss of status, they settle among persons of other nationalities who know nothing of their past. This spatial removal from the colony is frequently accompanied by a change of name. There is a more or less complete severance of all contacts with persons of their own nationality.

2. Those persons who have been able, after migration, to maintain their occupational status through the protection of the foreign-language colony. Although this group represents a wide variety of occupational adjustments, still in all cases there is found the common factor of protection afforded to immigrant intellectuals through symbiotic relationship with the laborers and tradesmen of their own nationality resident in the foreign-language colony. Some of these intellectuals, especially physicians, have been able to continue in America the occupation which was theirs prior to migration, but for some reason have not been able to enter into competition with American professional men in American neighborhoods. In most cases, however, Hungarian intellectuals settled in the colony have maintained their status through entering certain new and sheltered occupations provided by the colony or else through the parasitical exploitation of the laborers and tradesmen. Hungarian newspapers, steamship offices, private banks, real estate offices, and insurance agencies, all offer or have offered an occupational shelter. A number of those who can find no niche among the legitimate occupations earn their living through direct exploitation of the despised "dumb laborers" to whom factory jobs may be sold.

In almost all cases the intellectuals of the foreign-language colony confess themselves to be disappointed and disillusioned. One Hungarian professional man who had been able to maintain his old occupation gave the following statement:

When I came to America, I hoped that I could enter American professional circles. I haven't yet made the grade. So I have to stay here among these laborers of Delray. I don't have the money to associate with the people I want to meet, but the people around here are too dumb for me to associate with. So I don't associate with anyone at present.

This man's use of the English language, influenced by long association with Hungarian laborers in the colony, was probably a significant factor in preventing his acceptance in American professional circles.

3. Those persons whose occupational "success" after migration has removed them out of social contact with the Hungarian immigrant group. These "successful" persons are very few in number and are spatially removed from the foreign-language colony and from each other. They are found sporadically in districts peopled by Americans of high economic status. They speak English, usually with scarcely any "foreign accent." Their social, as well as their spatial, contacts are *entirely* with well-to-do Americans, with whom they have intermarried in a number of cases.

These "successful" immigrants are almost always engaged in one or other of the following occupations—engineer, physician, artist, and musician.¹⁰ They have brought with them to America some type of occupational training which is readily adapted to the occupational needs of the American people among whom they tend to settle. It is true that some Hungarian physicians have been forced to seek the protection afforded by the colony. The need of such protection indicates "defeat," caused by lack of skill, inability to overcome language difficulties, or some other cause. The successful Hungarian physician in Detroit seeks an American, rather than a Hungarian, clientèle.

Owing to some peculiar skill or ability, these "successful" Hungarian intellectuals have been able to compete with Americans. Their success has created an extreme social distance between themselves and the Hungarian laborers. The changed conditions accompanying migration to America have intensified the social distance which prevailed in the society of Hungary between intellectual and laborer and which was based upon the old division between nobles and serfs. The successful Hungarian engineer in Detroit is much farther removed socially from the Hungarian laborer than he would have been had both remained in Budapest.

¹⁰ This has reference only to those musicians who belonged to the intelligentsia. Gypsy musicians, as well as members of peasant "bands," have a status even lower than that of the laborers for whose entertainment they play.

A Hungarian resident of Grosse Pointe, Detroit's "Gold Coast," described his situation as follows:

I was a first lieutenant in the Royal Hungarian Army. I was also a graduate of the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest. I came to America twelve years ago. I always emphasize the fact that I am a Hungarian. I am proud of my race. When I first came to Detroit, I sought out the Delray settlement, for I wanted to meet Hungarians in America. After three days I was entirely cured. I saw that I didn't belong out there, and I had to move away. I was looking for people of the same standing as I had myself. I wanted to meet people of my own social level. The Hungarian laborer is of a lower level. At present I live in a different world from that of the Hungarian laborers. I have nothing in common with them. It would be difficult for me even to come into contact with these Hungarians, since the social situation separates us so widely.

The director of the research laboratory of one of the automobile companies made the following statement:

I was a graduate engineer in Hungary. When I came to America, I tried to avoid Hungarian colonies in order to learn the English language more quickly. It was purely for economic reasons that I chose to mingle only with Americans. Otherwise I would have started in unskilled labor at the bottom. After a few weeks' study in an English class, I mastered the language well enough to secure a job as a draughtsman and tool designer. After I settled in Detroit, I once thought that I would like to meet some other Hungarians. I went to a Hungarian restaurant *once* and met some laborers there. I never went back.

Another Hungarian engineer holding a prominent position in an automobile factory appeared to know almost nothing about his fellow-countrymen in America:

My family belonged to the *köznemesség*—the squire class—in Hungary. I had graduated as an engineer before I came to America fourteen years ago. I had an English governess when I was a child, so I was able to speak English well after I had been in America four weeks. Before I left Europe I had heard that many Hungarians live in Detroit, Cleveland, and other American cities, but I have never heard a single word about the Hungarian people living here since I came to Detroit. My wife belongs to the Junior League, and I do not think that the set we associate with is apt to have any contacts with these Hungarian laborers. Since I came to America, I have met only three Hungarians, one engineer and two doctors. Yet they were only casual acquaintances. All my intimate friends are Americans.

In a few cases the attitude of the successful engineer toward the Hungarian laborer has changed from neutrality to active hostility, as a result of personality clashes arising out of social contacts in an

American city. The two following statements were made by chief engineers of automobile factories:

My family received its patent of nobility at the time of the Crusades. I studied engineering in Berlin, since that had become a fashionable hobby with young men of the Hungarian aristocracy twenty years ago. As a result of a quarrel with my dad, I left home and came to America. I was so angry that I resolved to earn my own living and shame my noble family. I had been in America only a month when I secured a job as an engineer and I have been an engineer ever since. I suppose I have made money enough here to buy out my father's estate if I wanted to. I belong to the Detroit Yacht Club and enjoy very much the associations I have made with my fellow-members. I became aware of these Hunkies of Delray a few years ago, as a result of labor trouble in one of our plants. You surely would not expect me to associate with such people as they are. I don't want to have anything to do with them. Indeed, if I should happen to be in the employment office when two laborers, one a Hunkie and the other a man of some other nationality, applied for a job, I would say to our employment manager: "Don't give the job to that Hunkie. Give it to the other man." I don't want Hunkies hired at this plant while I am here. They will do me dirt every time.

If you have called to ask me about my connections with the Hungarian laborers of Detroit, I think you must want to insult me. I am an American. Why should it be cast up to me after twenty years that I came from Hungary? My family were gentlemen in Hungary, not half-starved laborers, like these people in Delray. I once felt sorry for the Hungarian laborers, because they came from the same country that I did. I helped a few of them to get work in our factory. The rascals thought that I was on the same level that they were. They tried to climb up by making use of their acquaintance with me. That settled matters. No more of them for me! They are not my people any more, and I do not want to hear about them.

The Hungarian intellectuals themselves are keenly aware of the social distance which separates them from the workers and tradesmen of their own nationality, and offer many explanations for this phenomenon.

The relatively small size of the Hungarian population in Detroit is held to be a significant factor. Its lack of political importance, however, is due to the absence of cohesion under competent leadership in addition to its numerical weakness.¹¹ The Hungarian group in De-

¹¹ In sharp contrast with Polish political successes, the efforts made by Hungarian candidates at virtually every city and county primary election have failed. In 1930, the total Hungarian population of Detroit was 22,311, or 1.42 per cent of the total population of the city. The Hungarian candidate for county auditor at the Democratic primary election, March 4, 1935, received only 697 votes in the city of

troit is not important culturally. Only a relatively few professional men have been able to find niches within the colony. Consequently, there is no large group of Hungarian intellectuals among whom the spatially scattered "successful" engineers, physicians, and others might find persons of like interests.

Since there is no color line to differentiate the Hungarian from the native-born American, the "successful" Hungarian passes over easily into the American group. He finds that Americans of his own economic and social class are more like-minded than are the poorer members of his own nationality. Whenever a "successful" Hungarian marries an American wife, this intermarriage hastens the process of the husband's complete assimilation in the American group with which he has identified himself.¹² In some cases the Hungarian language itself is almost completely forgotten.

Class prejudice carried over from Europe has had much to do with the antagonism between highly placed Hungarian engineers in the automobile industry and the mass of Hungarian laborers.¹³ Hungarians who are in the employer or managerial classes almost never rose from the ranks of labor. They came to America as graduate engineers. Some of them were members of the landed gentry of Hungary. The suppressed hatred of the peasantry toward the aristocracy flames out in America. The Hungarian laborer may fawn upon the Hungarian engineer at the automobile factory, but he would gladly harm his benefactor, if he had the opportunity. Many cases of overt hostility shown by Hungarian laborers in Detroit toward wealthy Hungarians have led to a defense attitude on the part of the Hungarians of higher economic status. Realizing that the Hungarian

Detroit; of this number, 531 votes were received in Wards 18 and 20, which include the greater part of the Hungarian population. The Hungarian candidate at the primary election for judge of Recorder's Court, Traffic and Ordinance Division, 1935, received a total of 3,976 votes, of which number only 1,577 votes were secured in the wards to which the Detroit Hungarian colony belongs. Thus, more than 60 per cent of the votes given to this candidate were polled in wards having scarcely any Hungarian voters. The candidate's friendship with a former governor of the state and support from that source possibly accounted for this non-Hungarian vote. At this election the lowest candidate securing nomination received 14,376 votes, or 3.6 times the number given to the Hungarian candidate.

¹² Suggested by Mrs. Eugene Farkas, the American-born wife of the Hungarian engineer who is director of the Dearborn Laboratory of the Ford Motor Company.

¹³ Suggested by Pálos Ernő, editor of the *Detroiti Magyarok*.

laborers hate them and desire to injure them, they protect themselves by avoiding all contact with the laborers of their own nationality.

Well-to-do Hungarians in Detroit claim that they realize that any social contact they might have with the laborers would be exploited by the latter as an opportunity for the solicitation of money or favors.

In Hungary the peasant is always trying to get something from his feudal lord. So here in Detroit the Hungarian laborer always fawns on us for a purpose. He wants to get something out of us.¹⁴

The pettiness of the Hungarian laborer and tradesman is "disgusting" to the "successful" intellectuals. This is probably a factor of general significance in determining social distance between well-to-do American and poor immigrant groups.

These poor Hunkies are more concerned with five-cent pieces than we are with thousands of dollars. Their eyes are so fixed on cheating each other out of a penny once in a while that they lose their chances to get rich.¹⁵

Although the "successful" Hungarian is able to pass over easily into the American group, he is not satisfied with any lesser goal than acceptance by the socially élite. Life for him has become a struggle to gain social status. Every other value appears inferior to this. He wants to have his name listed in the *Social Secretary* and know that he has "arrived." In spite of their ambitious efforts, however, well-to-do Hungarians in Detroit have not yet achieved marked success in their "social climbing." There is a wide margin between the status they seek and the status which is granted to them by consent of Detroit's society leaders. A "successful" Hungarian frequently boasts: "I know practically everyone who matters in Grosse Pointe." Yet closer questioning reveals that only a few persons of actual social status, and those only who are noted for their Bohemian tendencies, are willing to accept the hospitality of the ambitious Hungarian. A Hungarian woman of this group remarked, naming a well-known post-debutante: "She is my warmest friend. We are always together." The post-debutante, however, said icily: "Yes, I *have* met this woman you speak of." Acquaintances of a noted Hungarian painter spoke thus of his struggles: "At last he has been accepted by Bloomfield Hills society, but he has not yet made the grade of

¹⁴ Statement by Stephen de Orlow, one of the most successful Hungarian engineers and inventors in Detroit.

¹⁵ Statement by a Hungarian engineer.

Grosse Pointe society." In their eagerness to gain social status, some of the Hungarian intellectuals adopt methods which actually bar them from acceptance by socially prominent American families.¹⁶

Those Hungarians of the second immigrant generation who become lawyers, doctors, or dentists, or enter other professions, usually are the children of working-class families. They have been educated out of their own class, but have not been accepted socially by classes of higher status. Hence they remain marginal men.

My father was a laborer, but I studied law. I have been admitted to the bar. I sought without success to be nominated for state representative on the Democratic ticket. At any rate the nomination petitions gave me a lot of advertising. I don't know anything about the Hungarian doctors and engineers who came from Europe. I never have any contact with them. Those who were lawyers in Europe have to get some other profession after they come to America, because Hungarian law is so different from American. All the Hungarian lawyers in Detroit are like me, sons of laborers. Yet I don't like to associate with laborers very much, for I am a lawyer. So my closest friends are other lawyers who have the same kind of difficulty that I have. I have two partners—one is Italian and the other Belgian. Both of them are sons of laborers.¹⁷

The ascent of the sons of immigrant Hungarian laborers into the professions does not diminish the social distance which exists between these persons and the "successful" members of the old Hungarian intelligentsia. In the opinion of the latter, the former still remain members of the lower class because their fathers were such. Hence such persons become marginal men in the Hungarian group, but tend to form associations with persons of similar marginal status outside their own group.

The "successful" Hungarian intellectuals have secured a status so far above that of the remainder of the Hungarian immigrants that there is virtually no contact between these groups. The social distance is so extensive that possible leaders are removed too far from possible followers.¹⁸ To a large extent, Hungarian engineers and

¹⁶ This is illustrated by the circular issued by the Salle de Tuscan: "We have rented an ivy-clad castle on East Jefferson Avenue and are transforming this new home into a salon, a social and cultural organization whose privileges and activities will be restricted to a small, specially invited group and their immediate friends: at no time will it be open to the general public: a limited number of club members may reside here."

¹⁷ Statement by a second-generation Hungarian lawyer, who recently had his Hungarian surname changed to an Irish one, "to help in politics."

¹⁸ E. S. Bogardus, "Leadership and Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, November, 1927, pp. 173-78.

other "successful" persons have become members of American, rather than of Hungarian-American, society.

The leadership of the Hungarian group in Detroit has consequently fallen largely to two classes: the less successful members of the immigrant Hungarian intelligentsia who have been able to maintain their status through the protection of the foreign-language colony, and those marginal persons of the second generation whose education and professional career have elevated them above the social status of their parents but have failed to reduce the social distance existing between them and the members of the old Hungarian intelligentsia.

Of the various types of association upon which social distance is based, that between classes rather than that between persons or between national groups has greatest significance among Hungarian immigrants in Detroit. Immigration to America has increased the social distance between classes among those persons who have come from the highly stratified society of Hungary. Persons belonging to the upper social and economic strata of Hungary find that there is relatively little difference in culture between themselves and the members of the corresponding American classes. In the case of immigrants of lower social and economic strata a considerably greater difference in culture separates them from the Americans of comparable status. In the former case assimilation takes place so readily that nationality consciousness has had no opportunity to develop. In the case of the laborers and tradesmen, however, the cultural differences between Hungarian immigrants and Americans of like status lead to hostile attitudes and the development of social distance based upon nationality consciousness. The successful members of the Hungarian immigrant intelligentsia, on the contrary, pass over so completely into American society that they tend to look at the immigrant worker of their own national group from the American viewpoint.¹⁹

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¹⁹ This growing social distance between different classes of the same national group after immigration is paralleled by that between the parents and children in the same immigrant home. The immigrant child, adopting the American viewpoint, says: "I grew apart from my parents." Cf. E. S. Bogardus, "Social Intimacy and Social Distance," *ibid.*, XIII, 172.

CRIME AND CUSTOM OF THE HUNGARIANS OF DETROIT

ERDMANN DOANE BEYNON

As a factor in criminal causation, residence in a foreign language colony does not appear to have any constant or uniform effect. The importance of this factor varies with the degree of social solidarity possessed by the colony and with the type of background out of which its immigrant members have come. In the case of the Hungarians settled in Detroit, the amount as well as the type of delinquency and crime seems to bear a rather definite relationship to residence within or without the foreign language colony.

I. THE HUNGARIAN SETTLEMENT OF DETROIT

The migration of Hungarian immigrants into the Detroit area began about 1898, the year in which the Michigan Malleable Iron Company commenced production in Delray, at that time a small suburb on the Detroit River about five miles west of the central business district of the city. Hungarian immigrants in Cleveland, South Bend, Toledo and other cities, learning of the high wages and good working conditions offered by this new factory, came to seek employment. As a result of the influx of these new-comers, Delray was gradually abandoned by its old-time residents. The village of Delray was annexed to Detroit in 1904, but the name is still in use to denote the Hungarian colony which has filled the area of the former suburb.

The old municipality of Delray had definite boundaries. The limits of the Hungarian colony of Delray, however, are zonal. They fade off indeterminately into areas that do not belong to the colony. In order to have some basis of comparison between Hungarian crime and delinquency, on the one hand, and the Hungarian colony, on the other, it may be assumed that this colony includes that area extending from the Detroit River north to Fort Street and from Clark Street west to the Rouge River. As thus delimited, the Hungarian colony is at present an integral part of the city of Detroit and is divided among Wards 14, 16, 18, and 20, in each of which the Delray section forms only the southern part. It is therefore not possible to determine from the population statistics published by the Bureau of the Census either the number of Hungarians resident within the colony

or the proportion which these form of the total Hungarian population of Detroit. Consequently, in order to determine this distribution, reliance must be placed upon supplementary sources, especially the Detroit City Census prepared by the Board of Education and the Hungarian family names listed in Polk's *Detroit City Directory*. The results obtained from a study of these two sources harmonize closely. According to the Detroit City Census, the Delray colony had 45.46 per cent of the total Hungarian population of Detroit in 1925. The Hungarian names listed in Polk's *Detroit City Directory* for 1931-32 are distributed as follows:

Within the Delray colony.....	44.27 per cent
Outside the Delray colony.....	55.72 per cent

II. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HUNGARIAN COLONY

Background of the Hungarian Immigrants in Detroit. The social organization of the Hungarians of Detroit has been very largely a product of the interplay of three factors:

(a) The earlier life of these immigrants was spent in primary group relationships in a rather homogeneous society. The majority of them were born in communes of smaller size in those sections of Hungary which are least affected by modern industrial civilization. Before their migration to America, their lives had been moulded and controlled by the traditional folk culture.

(b) These immigrants had spent some time in the Hungarian colonies of other American cities prior to their coming to Detroit. Detroit has never been a "port of first entry" to any considerable number of Hungarian immigrants. Usually they have become acculturated, at least partially, to Hungarian-American life prior to their migration to Detroit.

(c) Immigrants from every part of Hungary live in close proximity in the Detroit Hungarian colony. The single exception is the "*Magyar Negyed*" on Medina and Barnes Streets, a settlement made up largely of immigrants from the commune of Sarud (Heves County) and preserving the peculiar customs and, to some extent, the costumes of the home village. Apart from this one settlement, there does not seem to have been any tendency for Hungarian immigrants in Detroit to settle close to those born in the same village or even in the same county. Friendships formed in other Hungarian colonies in America prior to migration to Detroit seem to play as conspicuous a role as do those associated with the immigrant's birthplace in

Hungary. Owing to these new associations formed in America the ties binding *földiek* (persons born, or reared, in the same village) to each other have been greatly weakened.

Hungarian Village Life in an American City. As a result of the interplay of these factors there has developed in Delray the social life of a Hungarian village—not that of any particular village in Hungary, since the cohesion of *földiek* has been broken down—but rather that of a new village, formed in an American city by villagers from every part of Hungary and developing out of the fusion of their divergent folk cultures its own folkways and mores which it imposes upon the members of the group. An expression frequently heard within the colony is: *Delray-ben foly a falusi élet* (Within Delray the village life flows on). On the streets of Delray one hears from everyone he meets the old Hungarian salutation: *Jó napot kívánok* (I wish you a good day). Whenever one goes for a walk, he is accosted by all whom he meets with the words: *Hová méssz?* (Where are you going?) Failure to answer this simple question would mark one as an object of suspicion who sought to hide his activities from his neighbors. Any chance conversation, on the street or in the store, is concluded with the words: *Isten veled* (May God be with thee!) Whoever enters a Hungarian home in the colony, whether he be stranger or friend, is greeted with the words: *Isten hozta* (God has brought you).

Organized Groups Within the Hungarian Colony. These may be divided according to their purpose, as follows:

- Sick Benefit and Insurance Societies;
- Social Clubs;
- Athletic Clubs;
- Altar Societies;
- Singing Clubs, or *Dalárdák*;
- Dramatic Clubs.

Practically every Hungarian of Detroit who has not broken away entirely from the people of his own nationality is connected in some way with one or more of these societies or clubs. Dr. Charles Földy, formerly editor of the *Detroiti Ujság*, affirms: "These clubs make up the varied life of our colony. If a man isolates himself from all of them, he is not a member of the Hungarian colony any longer." Virtually every club and society includes in addition to its actual membership a large periphery of *pártolók* (adherents).

The social control exercised in Hungary by the village group has been taken over largely among the Detroit Hungarians by these

societies. Hungarian churches and radical associations alike have difficulty in holding their people, unless the people are linked together in a society. The society becomes the center of the social life of its members. When memberships clash, the individual or family chooses one or other as the dominant social control. In order to make their appeal to different groups of individuals, certain organizations foster more than one club. Thus the Socialist Labor Party has four: a sick benefit society, a social club, a singing club, and a dramatic club. The management is the same for all four, the membership is only partially the same, and the periphery is almost entirely different.

Practically all the churches, societies and clubs in the Hungarian colony are represented in the Federation of Hungarian Churches and Societies (*A Detroiti Magyar Egyházak és Egyletek Nagybizottsága*). Each society is given representation and also assessed taxes on the basis of its membership. The weekly meetings of the federation show an effort to reproduce the meetings of the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest. The delegates of the different societies are seated according to their conservative or radical tendencies, those from the Hungarian Town and Country Club being on the president's extreme right and those from the Communist societies being on his extreme left. The heated discussions at the meetings of the federation fill the front pages of both Detroit Hungarian weekly papers and form the principal topic of conversation for a great many of the members of the colony.

Informal Groups Within the Hungarian Colony. One of the most persistent of Hungarian groups is that of the *Sogorok* and *Komák*. A *Sogor* is, properly speaking, a brother-in-law. To this class, however, there belong a brother's wife and children, a sister's husband and children, a brother-in-law's wife, a sister-in-law's husband, the parents and other near relatives of both brother-in-law and sister-in-law, and also certain other persons whose relationship to the family seems uncertain. The entire group is known as the *Sogorság*.

A *Koma* is the godparent of one's children. Since different godparents are usually selected for each child in a family and since the parents themselves serve as godparents to the children of other families, the *Komaság* comes to include a group of considerable size.

The entire group of *Sogorok* and *Komák* must be invited to banquets held in Hungarian homes on the following ceremonial occasions: weddings, baptisms, Name Days (*Névnapok*—the days of the saints after whom the members of the family were named: these days were observed rather than the actual birthdays), and Pig Kill-

ings (*Disznótorok*). Even though there might be personal antipathy between the host and some of his *Sogorok* and *Komák*, personal feelings had to be disregarded on these ceremonial occasions. At these banquets ceremonial speeches are recited by persons specially qualified for this function.

This group cohesion shows itself most significantly at a funeral. The primary interest of the family of the deceased is in the *Bucsuztatás*, very carefully prepared by them in advance for the use of the officiating clergyman, in the following traditional form:

"My deceased husband, Michael Módi, born in the Commune of Gyulaj, County of Tolna, aged 44 years, now takes farewell from his beloved wife and children and from his *Sogorok*: Peter Juhász and family, John Rádi and family, Menhert Berkó and family, Joseph Berkó and family, and from the entire *Sogorság*. Also he takes farewell from Nicholas Császár and family and from the entire *Komaság*."

One of the most serious difficulties possible in a Hungarian church even in Detroit would be a mistake in the *bucsuztatás*. There is a proper order in which these names must be read. To reverse or to change that order would be insulting. At a *disznótor* the guests are seated according to the same order in which their names would appear in the *bucsuztatás*. The *Sogorok* sit nearest to the host: beyond them sit the *Komák*: beyond these again must be seated other good friends of the host. One who stands in the relation of *sogor* or *koma* to the host is not addressed during the banquet by his own name, but only by his ceremonial title, *sogor* or *koma*, as the case may be.

The otherwise strong tie of this group relationship is somewhat weakened by its overlapping. The same people may stand in this same relation to many different families. This diffusion of group loyalties prevents any fixed cohesion among the members of a group.

Traces of this informal group cohesion linger inspite of assimilation to American life. Even though they may be intermarried with people of other nationalities and speak English only in their homes, the second and third generations of Hungarian immigrants still feel in most cases the tie that binds them to their *sogorok* and *komák*.

Cultural Isolation of the Hungarian Colony. To some of the older immigrants the social life of Delray is virtually "their entire world." Cases are by no means exceptional in which persons have spent from 15 to 20 years in the Delray colony without travelling once to the center of Detroit. In the following extreme statement by Mrs. Petrovics, expression is given to the feelings of a number of the older Hungarian settlers who have never moved out of the colony:

"Why should I learn this funny English language, when I do not have to? It's a shame that they will not give citizenship papers to decent people unless they know English. Here in Delray the Hungarian language is all I need to know. None of my neighbors know how to talk English. If these American people want to talk to us so badly, why don't they learn our language?"

Béla Toth had been raised outside the Hungarian colony. When he was about fifteen years old, his parents moved back into the colony. His later delinquency and crime was partly explained as due to the maladjustment arising out of his lack of knowledge of the Hungarian language:

"I am always ashamed to meet people. The boys around here all laugh at me because I cannot talk Hungarian. That is why I bummed around with Armenian boys and others."

Finding himself maladjusted in relation to the Hungarian group, he sought intimate associations with persons of other nationalities living on the periphery of the Hungarian colony.

Socially Approved and Socially Disapproved Groups. There is a significant difference between the organization of the socially approved groups within the colony and that of the socially disapproved gangs on the periphery. To the first class belong those boys who on Christmas Day dress as the shepherds of Bethlehem and go from house to house, presenting in archaic language the traditional "Bethlehem Play." Similarly on Easter Monday many such groups roam the streets of Delray, as they perform the ceremony of the *locsolódás*, thus maintaining in Detroit an ancestral Hungarian custom. Entering the houses in which the girls live, they rush from room to room in search of the girls in order that they may sprinkle them with water or perfume. The sprinkling is accompanied by the recital of several stanzas of old folk poetry. Either the girls themselves or their parents pay the boys with Easter eggs, cake or money for their trouble and thank them for the visit.

In spite of their anti-social activities, certain coal-stealing gangs receive a sort of social approval in the Hungarian colony. The theft of fuel is, under certain conditions, a thing approved by the mores of the Hungarian peasantry.

On the contrary, the socially disapproved gangs are seldom limited to boys of Hungarian nationality. Their activity runs counter to the folkways and mores of the Hungarian people, in which naturally they have no common interest. Consequently, a mixed group

in a baseball club frequently turns to anti-social activities, since its composite character emancipates it from group control.

The social organization of the colony is such that a stabilizing influence is exerted upon those Hungarians who are not emancipated from the social control of their group. Apart from certain forms of illicit activity sanctioned by the group itself, the influence of the colony trends to prevent delinquency and crime.

III. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

During the period from January 1, 1927, to March 11, 1932, the complaints filed against Hungarian boys in Wayne County Juvenile Court numbered 462 and involved 380 boys.

The spatial distribution of these juvenile delinquents is very significant, if compared with that of the total Hungarian population. Of the 380 Hungarian boys against whom complaints were filed, 364 boys resided in that area from which the names in the *Detroit City Directory* were taken. Within this area (*i. e.*, the city of Detroit and eight adjacent municipalities), the Hungarian colony of Delray contributed 140 juvenile delinquents, while the remaining 224 boys resided outside the colony.

The following table shows how this distribution of juvenile delinquents compares with that of the total population.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF HUNGARIAN JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND OF THE TOTAL
HUNGARIAN POPULATION, OF DETROIT (BY PERCENTAGE)

	<i>Total Hungarian Population</i>	<i>Hungarian Juvenile Delinquents</i>
Colony of Delray.....	44.27%	38.46%
Outside the Colony.....	55.72%	61.53%

Various factors are involved in the lesser ratio of juvenile delinquency among the Hungarians living within the colony than among those outside. It is true that members of a foreign language colony are somewhat less apt to file complaints against the children of their countrymen than are the Americans who have trouble with the children of "foreigners." The difference however is not significant in the case of Hungarians. Of the 175 complaints filed against boys in the colony, eight, or 4.57 per cent, were filed by the offended party. Of the 266 complaints against boys outside the colony, eighteen, or 6.76 per cent, were filed by the offended party.

The principal factor in the lesser ratio of juvenile delinquency within the colony appears to be the social solidarity which serves as a protection against the anti-social conduct rather than against the punishment for such conduct. A stabilizing influence is exerted upon the boys who grow up, surrounded by the culture of their own group.

The effect of this community solidarity within the colony can best be studied, if a comparison be made between the nucleus¹ of the Hungarian colony and the rest of Wayne County in respect to the various classes of offenses committed by Hungarian boys.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENSES CHARGED AGAINST HUNGARIAN BOYS, BY CLASSES OF OFFENSES, ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE NUCLEUS OF THE HUNGARIAN COLONY

<i>Class of Offenses</i>	<i>Nucleus of Colony</i>		<i>Rest of Wayne County</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Railroad Larceny and other railroad offenses	38	43.28%	50	56.81%
Larceny (non-railroad)	41	29.49%	98	70.50%
Breaking and Entering.....	22	20.00%	88	80.00%
Robbery and Assault.....	3	25.00%	9	75.00%
Truancy and Incurigibility.....	16	25.00%	48	75.00%
Habitual Nuisance and Malicious Destruction of Property.....	11	31.42%	24	68.57%
Sex Offenses	0	0.00%	7	100.00%
Miscellaneous, including speeding, forgery, violation of prohibition law	1	6.25%	15	93.75%
Total	133	28.78%	329	71.21%

Coal Stealing. The fact that 43.28 per cent of the cases of railroad larceny involved boys living in the Hungarian colony is very significant. Complaints against boys within the colony had a considerably higher ratio for this class of offenses than for any other class. In the case of the theft of fuel, the Hungarian culture encourages rather than prevents delinquency and crime.

This cultural trait can be understood only by reference to the system of land tenure in Hungary. The *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa, in 1764, laid down the relative rights and obligations of the peasant and his feudal lord.² This Magna Charta of the Hungarian peasantry was partly a formal recognition of established customs, partly

¹An area, consisting of 25 streets and parts of streets in the center of the colony. The Hungarian churches, clubs, printing offices and principal stores are located within this nucleus.

²John Paget: *Hungary and Transylvania*. London, 1839. Vol. I, p. 295 ff.

a grant of new rights. An entire peasant's fief consisted of a house and garden-ground, to the extent of one acre, along with a certain amount of arable land, pasture and meadow. "The peasant might cut wood for building and firing . . . on the property of his landlord without payment." As a result of this provision no problem regarding the peasant's supply of fuel could arise until the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1848. Through that emancipation the feudal lords lost their ownership of the village with its adjoining arable land, pasture and meadow, but retained in most cases practically all the forests. The peasants no longer had any right to take fuel out of the landlord's forests. Trespassing on the *tilos* (enclosed property) was forbidden, though the prohibition was not enforced with equal vigor on all estates. In time, a sort of accommodation was reached between the nobility and the peasantry. It was legally recognized that the forest belonged absolutely to the nobleman, and that if the peasant entered it, he was guilty of trespass: if he removed firewood from it, he was guilty of theft. The noble lord, however, graciously condescended to overlook a certain amount of this stealing, provided the peasants stole only dead wood and did not molest the game. In fact the "stealing" became regulated. Thus, as late as 1925, the superintendent of a nobleman's estate in Sopron County issued a proclamation to the peasantry that henceforth the "stealing of firewood in the count's forests would be permitted only on Saturdays."

Hungarian peasants settled in Detroit have transferred to coal stealing from the railroad their old attitude toward the stealing of firewood from a nobleman's estate. The coal is stolen, not from some individual like themselves, but from the property of an impersonal, unknown railroad company which corresponds fairly well in their thinking to the absentee nobleman from whose forests their fathers gathered firewood.

Veszprémi István is the recording steward of a Hungarian church in Detroit. In answer to a question about his fuel for the winter, he said:

"We buy only stolen coal. It costs us \$3.00 a ton, which is less than half what we pay the coal dealer. The boys come and take our orders in the afternoon and then steal the coal at night from the cars on the railway tracks."

"Do you not think it wrong to steal coal or to buy stolen coal?"

"No, of course not. You see, it is this way. Stealing coal is different from other stealing. If I would take five cents of your money, that would be real stealing. You are a man just like me. I know you. I have never

in my life stolen like that. No honest man would. Only the Gypsies steal from other people that way. But coal stealing isn't like that at all. Why, the coal stands there on the railroad tracks, and we never see the man who owns that railroad. It's an estate of some kind, just like the estates in Hungary. Why should not the poor people get their coal from it?"

Another Hungarian immigrant, the treasurer of a church, was praising his son to visitors.

"Béla is surely a good boy. Why, all last winter we only had to buy a half a ton of coal. Béla stole all the rest from the railroad."

The average immigrant cannot understand why his boy should be arrested and punished for stealing coal. Kovács József was lamenting his son's arrest.

"What an unjust country America is! My boy never did anything wrong. He was always an honest boy, would not have stolen a nickel from anyone. Yet the police arrested him when he was merely stealing coal, and they are keeping him in jail for that. What stupid people!"

The Natural History of the Hungarian Delinquent. In undoubtedly the majority of cases the delinquency of Hungarian boys within the colony commences with coal stealing and advances no further, especially if the boy is not arrested. Although a large number of boys may be seen at work any night, stealing coal from the railroads which intersect the Delray colony, comparatively few are arrested for railroad larceny. In the case of those unfortunate boys who are caught, however, the arrest gives a new definition to the situation. Conduct socially approved by their own group has become larceny. They find that they themselves are thieves. The nice distinction made between coal stealing and other forms of theft becomes blurred. Consequently it becomes easier for the boy to progress into other and more serious kinds of delinquency and crime. Those Hungarian boys whose coal-stealing activities escaped the attention of the police seldom pass over into more serious anti-social conduct. The situation has never been defined for them in any manner other than that of the culture of their own group.

The case of Joe Kish, a resident of Bacon Street on the periphery of the colony, may be duplicated many times in the records of the Wayne County Juvenile Court and of the Detroit Recorder's Court.

"On May 11, 1921, Joe, then a boy of 13, was brought before the court on complaint filed by the special officer of the D. T. & I. Railroad that this boy did on April 27, 1921, steal a quantity of coal from the D. T. & I. tracks, the coal being the property of the D. T. & I. Railroad. The boy

was found delinquent on this charge and was placed on probation. On October 3, 1923, when Joe was 15 years old, he was arrested again for stealing coal, this time from the Pennsylvania Railroad. He was again found delinquent and placed on probation.

"On December 22, 1924, when Joe was 16, he was brought before the court on the complaint that he did, on or about November 15, 1924, steal \$30.00 in money from his mother. He found delinquent on this charge and was committed to the Ford Republic. Shortly after his release from this institution, in 1928, he found himself hard pressed for food and clothes. Consequently, he broke into a cigar store, stole \$5.00 in cash and cigars and cigarettes to the value of \$11.50. After selling the cigars and cigarettes at a football field, he bought a pair of pants, a neck tie and socks, and spent the rest of the money for shows and food. He was arrested, tried, convicted and sent to Ionia Reformatory on a sentence of three to fifteen years, of which he served two and one-half years only. Shortly after his release, on February 9, 1931, he broke into a blind pig and confectionary store, and stole cigars, cigarettes and a small amount of money. After his arrest for this offense, he confessed to at least twelve other robberies of a similar nature."

After this boy's arrest for coal stealing, he entered upon other forms of theft, since the situation had now been defined for him. The progress of Hungarian boys in delinquency and crime seems to follow in most cases a rather definite sequence.

I. The theft of coal from cars on the railroad, for the use of the delinquent's own family. This practice is thoroughly approved by the group, since it corresponds to the theft of wood from the manorial forest adjoining the peasant village.

II. The theft of coal for sale to others, the proceeds being turned over usually to the delinquent's own family. This practice is tolerated, if not actually approved, by the group.

III. The theft of other and more valuable articles from railroad property. This loot is usually secured by breaking into box cars. Many arrests take place at this step, owing to the increased value of the things stolen. The railroad police are more likely to overlook the theft of a small amount of coal than that of 250 pounds of copper, or \$50 worth of lubricating dope, two of the items for which Hungarian boys were arrested. This type of theft is no longer approved by the group. The gang element begins to enter in, since the loot must be hidden from the boy's parents.

IV. The theft of money or other articles from the delinquent's home. Ordinarily some external incentive is needed to induce the boy to take this anti-social step. Frequently the members of the gang who helped the boy dispose of the loot from railroad cars incite him to prey upon his own home.

V. Finally the delinquent begins to prey upon the homes of the other members of the social group to which he himself belongs. He is no longer charged with railroad larceny, but with breaking and entering or with

robbery armed. He has fully graduated from juvenile delinquency into adult crime. As a result of behavior of this type he becomes an outcast from the Hungarian group.

The above sequence is not limited to immigrant groups in America, but may be found within the peasant economy in Europe, as Ladislav Reymont's *The Peasants* shows. The simple Polish boy, Kuba, was fervently religious, but was accustomed to steal firewood from the manorial forest. When he poached a deer in order to present it to the village priest, he felt no remorse. His uneasiness became acute when he agreed to steal deer regularly for Yankel, the Jew. At this point he was turning from socially approved to socially disapproved conduct. It was worse to steal to sell than to steal for one's own sake or for that of one's priest. The great emotional crisis came, however, when Yankel persuaded Kuba to steal oats from Boryna, a rich peasant. Kuba cried out: "My father was not a thief: neither am I."

IV. TYPES OF ADULT CRIMINALS

Those Hungarians whose case histories are preserved in the files of the Detroit Recorder's Court may be classified according to certain well-marked types, some of which predominate within the colony and some without. This spatial distribution of types in relation to crime makes possible the classification of Hungarian adult criminals in Detroit on the basis of the effect which the lack of the stabilizing influence of the foreign language colony has upon their social maladjustment.

(A) *Persons Whose Maladjustment Is Not Attributable to Lack of the Stabilizing Influence of the Hungarian Colony.*

The types of criminals belonging to this class are found both within and without the colony. In most cases they are persons who would be maladjusted in any environment. Even if they had remained in the peasant village in Hungary where they were born, they would in all probability have failed even there to adjust in a socially approved manner. Although the lack of the stabilizing influence of the colony is not responsible for the maladjustment in these cases, yet certain types tend to remove themselves as far as possible from the colony: other types tend to remain among their own cultural group. Thus, persons with schizoid tendencies are almost never found in the colony. Their desire "to be somebody" leads them to migrate to

"better American neighborhoods." On the other hand, the Hungarian "witch" and embezzler alike must live within the colony in order to find their prey. The Hungarian chronic alcoholic also is scarcely ever found outside the colony.

1. *Maladjustment Due to Some Personality Defect.*

(a) *The Chronic Alcoholic.* This is one of the most definite types found in the Hungarian colony. At least ten per cent of all the Hungarian cases brought before the Detroit Recorder's Court during the past decade were of this type. The case history in every instance is virtually the same:

"Chronic alcoholic with paranoid trends . . . a drunken, suspicious husband . . . a middle-aged man . . . low intelligence quotient. . . . In spite of attacks of delirium tremens, he refuses to believe that he gets drunk.

"Very demanding in his sex relations. Resorts to brutality, if refused. . . . Uses vile words in addressing his wife. . . . Calls her *kurva*. . . . Insanely jealous of his wife . . . constantly afraid lest she be "speculating"³ regarding him. Hides and watches for other men to visit his wife.

"Constantly afraid lest he be taken to an asylum, jail, or hospital. . . . Always afraid lest his wife put poison in his wine.

"A very talkative man, constantly lauding himself and condemning his wife and children. . . . Brutal toward his children, whom he forces to leave home."

Although in certain families chronic alcoholism may be traced back to the fathers and grandfathers who lived in peasant villages in Hungary, yet in most cases there is a precipitating cause which leads the Hungarian immigrant to seek escape through drink: some financial reverse, some prolonged period of unemployment, some marital unhappiness. In one case the husband began to drink to excess as soon as he discovered that a sterilizing operation had been performed upon his wife without his knowledge or consent.

A causative factor in this behavior is undoubtedly the Hungarian peasant attitude that the sole end and purpose of marriage is to give the husband sexual gratification. He is the *Ur*—the lord of the home. Nothing whatever must interfere with his pleasures. If pregnancy and lactation cause his wife to be sexually unresponsive

³*Spekulál*, meaning, "to look around, make inquiries, make schemes, secure some advantage for oneself." Both in Hungary and in America this expression is used frequently by the drunken, suspicious husband, in describing his fear lest his wife harbor some designs against him. This word is almost invariably mentioned in the case histories of these persons.

for a time, then abortion must be practiced. Thus, when a newly married second generation Hungarian woman asked to be excused from sexual relationship for a few days, her husband answered: "What in h - - l do you think I married you for anyway?" To a large degree, the immoderate drinking of Hungarian immigrant husbands is due to thwarted sexual desires. The man gets drunk in order that he may have more courage to assert "his rights."

(b) *The Witch*. In spite of the unusual interest aroused by an occurrence of witchcraft within the Hungarian colony, this type is as rare as the drunken, jealous husband is common. Both types are found solely within the colony, but for different reasons. The chronic alcoholic lacks initiative to move away from his own cultural group. The witch's power is lost as soon as she is confronted by persons of a different culture. This fact was given significant demonstration in the case of the "witch of Medina Street," who was reputed to have caused the mysterious death of twelve men, in order to obtain their insurance. No charge could be proven against "Aunt Rose" Veres, so long as Medina Street was populated almost entirely by superstitious peasants from Sarud, in Hungary.

"Medina Street is a little world by itself, away from the turmoil of the big city of which it forms a part, a world completely shaken and terrified by suspicions and hatreds of the brown house where Mrs. Veres lives. The neighbors tell wild tales of the charms she can conjure and of the havoc she has wrought when she 'cast an eye' on some unfortunate. 'She has strange powers,' they explained naively. 'She boasts that she cannot stay in jail, that she knows the magic to get out. We are afraid to catch her eye. She can make our children sick and our husbands lose their jobs.' She knows all kinds of magic."⁴

As a result of this superstitious terror, no Hungarian would dare to testify against "Aunt Rose." Consequently, although eleven men had died mysteriously in "Aunt Rose's" house and she had, in each case, collected the full amount of the dead man's insurance, the State was never able to secure sufficient evidence to convict her. After the death of the twelfth man, Steve Mak, on July 6, 1931, the "witch" was convicted of murder in the first degree, solely as a result of population changes on Medina Street. Some of the Hungarian families had moved away, and colored people had taken their place. At this trial, as at the previous ones, the Hungarian witnesses continued to answer: "I don't know anything about it," "I don't verstek," and "me no talk." Five Negro neighbors—newcomers on the street—gave detailed accounts of the murder.

⁴*Detroit Times*, August 27, 1931.

(c) *Schizoid Tendencies*. The maladjustment of a certain number of Hungarians is due to this personality defect. Thus Mary Kovács, who married a day laborer, lamented her lowly social position:

"The rest of my family are all lawyers and other professional people. I feel inferior because of my husband's work. My father was a noble in Hungary. Here in America, I am the wife of a common laborer. That is why I make my husband go with me to night school every night after he comes home from work. We expect to complete the course and then go to college. I must go to college, for I want my son to be proud of me."

Mary's ambition was accompanied by sexual maladjustment and constant nagging. This in turn led to domestic difficulties and the partial estrangement of Mary's husband, who already has been arrested three times for rape.

Steve Kish was arrested for practicing medicine without a license. His difficulty was due to a similar ambition.

"He wants to be a big man of importance and actually thinks that he is. He claims that his grandfather was of the Hungarian nobility, being a Count. Although not very familiar with English, he reads the Saturday Evening Post, because he thinks that is the correct thing to do. He greatly enjoys telling of his interest in golf. He takes great pleasure in dressing in golf knickers and sweaters and walking about the golf course in a lordly manner. His underlying desire is 'to get ahead and amount to something.' Although his intelligence quotient was only 64 on the Stanford Abbreviated Scale, and he was at that time employed as a factory laborer on the night shift, yet he represented himself as a senior medical student and secured work in a doctor's office. His bluff so impressed the doctor for whom he worked that he introduced him at meetings of the Wayne County Medical Association. The patient frequently attended parties, at which he was introduced as 'Dr. Kish.' He spent the money he earned in the factory buying medical books, but he had difficulty in understanding them."

Helen Nagy was employed as a domestic in a wealthy Grosse Pointe home. Although her intelligence quotient on the Binet Simon Test Abbreviated Form was only 69.79, still she felt an urge to be "a person in society."

"She cried frequently when telling how poorly she was dressed. She had quit school because she wanted more clothes. She bought rings on credit from a fashionable jewelry store. To pay some of her debts, she stole a \$750 diamond ring belonging to her employer, and pawned it. She always reads the society column of the newspapers. She took up the study of the drama and claims (though this was found to be false) that she played the part of the nun in Morris Geste's *The Miracle*. For her week's vaca-

tion last year she went to Chicago and registered at the New Drake Hotel under the name of her employer's daughter, a post-debutante."

Although not requiring an explanation in terms of the Hungarian culture, the following personality defects also have served as major factors in the maladjustment of Hungarians brought before the Detroit Recorder's Court:

- (d) Hypererotic manifestations;
- (e) Borderline defective, unable to stand mental strain;
- (f) Feeble-mindedness.

2. *Maladjustment Due to Economic Pressure.*

Many Hungarian immigrants are unable to adjust in a socially approved manner to severe economic pressure. In the peasant village there was economic security accompanied by a very low standard of living. When economic pressure threatens the higher standard of living to which they have suddenly become accustomed in America, certain immigrants re-act either actively or passively in an anti-social manner. To the former category belong the confidence men, forgers and planners of hold-ups, who appear occasionally among the Detroit Hungarians. Since such persons are able to prey most easily upon the members of their own group, they are usually found within the colony.

A woman with an intelligence quotient of 56 on the Pintner-Patterson Performance Scale was arrested for forgery.

"Elizabeth Nemeth was married and was very happy in her married life. She had five children, only two of whom are now living. Her husband died four years ago, leaving her considerable property. She was very inadequate in her business arrangements and soon squandered her money. She bought a car when she was unemployed and could not even provide food for herself and her children. Since she had no more money, she tried 'hustling' for a time. Then she made out bogus checks and persuaded a man to forge signatures on them."

Dave Toth, who had been a salesman for seven years was arrested for planning a hold-up.

"Dave Toth was not only a successful salesman, but also a fervently religious man. He was known as his 'pastor's right hand.' For several years he had been the district manager for the sale of the religious publications of his denomination. As a result of the depression, his sales fell off and he was unable to live any longer in the manner to which he was accustomed. Accordingly he went and hunted up two bandits with whom he made an agreement about a hold-up. He selected a store for the burg-

lary, brought the bandits to a dark street in the neighborhood, brought them guns, and waited in his car for their return. After the division of the loot from the store, Toth drove the bandits down town and then returned to the church, where he took part in a prayer meeting."

Among Hungarian immigrants the passive reaction to economic pressure usually involves chronic alcoholism and the consequent broken homes.

"Charles Nagy was a good worker and gave his wife most of his wages. He always drank moderately, but never to excess, until he was laid off work six months ago. Since then he has been getting drunk constantly and causing a lot of trouble at home."

3. *Maladjustment Due to Criminalistic Home Environment.*

Even in the simple society of the Hungarian peasant village, there are found occasionally predatory individuals or families who steal from their neighbors. John Horváth was the child of such a family.

"John Horváth, aged 20 years, with an intelligence quotient of 74.47 on the Terman-Revision Binet Scale, was charged with breaking and entering a business place in the night time. This was his third offense. Environmental issues are undoubtedly responsible for his defective emotional development. His mother, Rose, a native of Szatmár County, Hungary, was frequently arrested in Hungary for larceny. After her immigration to America, she became a shop-lifter, and was caught several times while stealing articles from the down town department stores. For many years the family have had no legitimate means of support whatever. John's father has not done a single day's work in almost ten years. Yet the family, in which there are five children, seem always to have plenty of money. When John was ten years old, his mother began teaching him to steal. He took automobile spare tires, head lights, cakes of ice and other articles. John's father and mother distilled moonshine whiskey in large quantities in the basement of the house, and John was sent daily—or rather, nightly—to deliver the liquor to his parents' customers."

4. *Maladjustment Due to Physical Injury.*

In a few cases the major factor in the individual's maladjustment appears to be some physical injury.

"Joe Nemeth, aged 22 years, with an intelligence quotient of 69 on the Stanford Abbreviated Scale, was arrested for breaking and entering. This was his fourth offense. He was of the ne'er-do-well type. He had a head injury caused by a hay fork, when he was eight years old. Some three years ago he had an injury to his foot caused by a train. All the toes on his right foot had to be amputated. There has been a terrific let-down in his interests since this injury. Had he not been emotionally in-

adequate, the loss of his toes would not have caused his anti-social conduct; though he uses this as an excuse for his behavior."

(B) *Persons Whose Maladjustment Is Attributable to the Lack of the Stabilizing Influence of the Hungarian Colony.*

A great many Hungarians, both of the first and of the second generation in America, are emotionally unstable and very suggestible. They are inadequate to meet new situations: they require security in order to maintain proper adjustment to society. Under the conditions of life in a Hungarian peasant village, such people would be well adjusted. Their behavior would harmonize with the expectations of the group. Similarly, the social solidarity of the Delray colony protects these individuals. Being themselves unstable and suggestible, they require the social control exercised by the group within the colony. When such individuals move beyond the colony and come into contact with persons of other cultures, they are apt to re-act to new situations in an anti-social manner.

1. *Difficulty through racial intermarriage.* Since marriage with a person of some other nationality involves in most cases both spatial and cultural separation from the Hungarian group, it presents to the Hungarian entering such a union many unexpected problems in social adjustment. Serious maladjustment is apt to arise unless the contracting parties know each other rather well prior to their marriage.

"Mary Molnár, a Hungarian woman, married a Greek man whom she had known only four days. She had been doing housework and had to turn over her wages to her oldest sister, who did not think that she was old enough to take care of herself. Her sister bought her what clothes she thought she needed. Mary did not like being 'bossed' that way. To avoid this situation, she married a Greek man, without knowing anything about him. Like other Hungarian young married women, Mary walks home from shows with young men whom she has met at dances and other places. Her husband, being a Greek, will not understand that this comradeship between the sexes is a Hungarian custom. He accuses her of having intercourse with these other men, but she denies this. (Examiner believes that she tells the truth.) Mary has already had two children since her marriage. She tells her husband that she does not wish to have any more children and that he must be governed accordingly. Hungarians do not want big families, she says. Her husband then accuses her of not loving him. She says that that is true now. She could have loved him in the beginning, if he had given her some companionship or taken her out once in a while. She thinks that if a man married a woman of his own nationality, then they would understand each other better."

2. *Mixed gangs.* Virtually all the predatory gangs to which Hungarian boys and young men belong are mixed, *i. e.*, made up of individuals of different nationalities or races. Nearly half of all the offenses with which Hungarians were charged in the Detroit Recorder's Court during the past decade involved members of such gangs. In almost every instance these persons lived either outside the Hungarian colony altogether, or else on its periphery where they were in contact with persons of other nationalities.

"Edmund S—, an Armenian boy, had been playing cards all afternoon with three Hungarian boys, Victor O. . . , Béla B—, and Frank K—, all of whom were about 19 years of age. In the evening, as it began to get dark, the caretaker of a warehouse called Edmund and asked him to buy fifteen boxes of hams for \$15. Edmund said: 'Yeah, sure, I guess I'll take 'em.' So he turned over the \$15 to the caretaker and went to hunt the three Hungarian boys with whom he had been playing in the afternoon. They had nothing to do, and had a devil of a time doing it, so they said. They all pitched in and helped Edmund carry the hams from the warehouse to the nearby alley. That night and the next morning Edmund sold all the hams and received \$37 for them. At the examination after Edmund's arrest, he admitted: 'I thought probably the hams were stolen.' Then he said: 'Well, this d—ned detective is always bothering me when anything happens out here. He claims I'm the head of a gang out here, and I get the blame for all of it.'"

The three Hungarian boys involved in the theft of the hams undoubtedly had nothing to do with the planning of the larceny. Edmund asked them to do something. Since they had nothing else to do, they did as he asked them. The same extreme suggestibility is shown in the case of Frank T. , a Hungarian boy of 18, with an intelligence quotient of 54.68 on the Stanford Abbreviated Scale.

"In September, 1928, Frank went to a pool room in Hamtramck, where a gang of Polish boys gave him liquor and got him intoxicated. They told him to put his hand in his pocket and use his finger as a gun. Under these instructions he went with them and 'pulled the job.' . . . In April, 1930, Frank met Stephen . . .⁵ in a pool room. The latter proposed further robberies. He gave the Hungarian boy a 25 caliber automatic and told him to 'stick up a grocery.' He hesitated, and Stephen threatened to shoot him if he did not go through with the job. He then entered the grocery store, flashed his gun and demanded the money."

The same suggestibility is shown in the case of Andy F.

"Andy met on the street two men whom he had known previously. They proposed holding up a chain store. Andy agreed to help them.

⁵This Polish boy, one time leader of the Hanley Street gang, appears as "Stephen" in Professor A. E. Wood's case study of a Hamtramck delinquent youth.

They entered the store in the morning as the manager was opening it up. Andy cornered the Negro porter, while his companions took the manager to the safe and secured the loot. Then all three ran out of the rear door. The two accomplices were never apprehended. Andy does not even know their names. The police scout car caught Andy in the alley."

Another case is that of Nick F.

"About 10 p. m. Nick and his wife got home from a show. His wife went into the house. Nick told her that he was going to the corner for awhile. There he met some of the boys who asked him if he wanted to make some easy money. He knew them and asked what he would have to do. 'Only drive a car,' they said. They had a stolen car and asked Nick to drive to Wyandotte where they looked over the saloons. They asked Nick to stop by a certain one, while they went in. In about four or five minutes they came out, jumped in the car and told Nick to 'step on it.' They drove back to Detroit and split the money which amounted to \$395.00."

The above are merely random samples drawn from the case histories of the most numerous class of Hungarian criminals. Had these individuals remained within the colony, they would probably have followed the dictates of custom in the same sheep-like manner in which they followed the criminal suggestions of gang leaders outside the colony. They would have been singing the "song of Bethlehem" at Christmas and sprinkling girls with perfume at Easter instead of breaking and entering houses and stores and committing robbery armed. For Hungarians of the extremely suggestible type the colony is a protection against crime. Without this protection they are apt to come under the influence of persons who will direct them into anti-social activity.

